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Anniversary of October Revolution Viewed

AU0711102389 Tirana ATA in English
0940 GMT 7 Nov 89

["Revisionist Treachery Cannot Fade Away the Strength of the Ideas of October Revolution—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 7 (ATA)—The anniversary of the triumph of the Great Socialist Revolution is an important event with unprecedented dimensions in the world history, which for the first time realised the people's power and marked the beginning of a new epoch in the life of mankind, where a society without the exploitation of man by man is being constructed, Doc Adem Mezini writes in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT.

The October Revolution showed that the general tendency of the social development is socialism and the way for its realisation is the socialist revolution where the broad masses of people led by the working class take part. This law was confirmed also by the further development of the world revolutionary process. But the process took a heavy blow when Khrushchevite revisionism emerged, when revisionist treachery took broader proportions and the further development of the revolutionary process on the road of socialism was impeded. The bourgeois ideologists are exploiting this regressive situation to denigrate and deny the struggle of the peoples and the proletariat and their aspirations for a new society.

It is not by chance, the author emphasizes, that the bourgeoisie and its instruments want the working people to ignore and abandon the socialist ideal, to deny the socialist alternative of the social development. This road was followed also by various variants of revisionists who denied the Marxist-Leninist principles and began to seek a new socialism with "human" face, with "human appearance." The ideological confusion is further intensified by the viewpoints of the Gorbachevian revisionists who have openly denied the historic mission and the class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Both the bourgeoisie and the revisionists present the actual crisis in the Soviet Union and other East European countries as crisis of socialism as social order and of communism as an ideology which has inspired the first one. The whole Western capital is interested that perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union is further deepened and in particular the processes which lead to the privatisation of the economy, ideological pluralism develop in even broader dimensions and open the road to political pluralism.

The deep economic, political, social and national crisis that has swept the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, ZERI I POPULLIT points out, has to do neither with socialism nor with the communist ideology. This is part of the general crisis of capitalism, logical product of the triumph of the revisionist counterrevolution, result of the anti-Marxist line pursued by the revisionist parties, of the negation of the ideals of socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists have highly evaluated the teachings of the October Revolution, the glorious deed of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The Party of Labour of Albania imbued by Comrade Enver Hoxha with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism holds aloft the red banner of the October ideas, successfully forging ahead the construction of socialism in Albania and showing in practice through Albania's example the vitality of socialism. The revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in the 8th plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party], forges ahead, because it is impossible that the proletariat and the peoples reconcile with the exploitation and oppression.

French Jurist Cited on 'Repression' in Kosovo

AU0811172589 Tirana ATA in English
1117 GMT 8 Nov 89

["Brutal and Shaky Methods of Repression Against the Albanians in Kosovo—the French Jurist Antoine Garapone Who Visited Kosovo Recently States"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 8 (ATA)—The Croatian newspaper VJESNIK carried recently the testimony of a French jurist, who visited Kosovo last week at a time when manifestations of protests against the trial of Azem Vlasi and other 14 former Kosovo officials were taking place in many cities. A communique of the Slovene Commission for the Defence of the Human Rights reported that on November 2 a delegation of the International Federation for the Human Rights, centered in Paris and headed by Antoine Garapone, jurist and member of the French League for the Human Rights, arrived in Pristina. A month ago, too, Garapone paid a visit to Kosovo at the head of the delegation of this organization accredited in the UN, UNESCO, and European Council.

A communique published in Ljubljana, VJESNIK writes, pointed out that on November 3, the jurist Garapone sent from Pristina the first telephone information on the situation there. He underlined that he was a witness of the police violence, as a result of which 6 people were killed. On November 3, in the morning, in Grand Hotel of Pristina, a civilian approached a member of the delegation Matjaz Hanzek from Slovenia, and was introduced to him as a policeman and threatened him that in case the three member delegation does not leave Kosovo, they will be killed. The French Embassy in Belgrade, the foreign news agencies, and the International Federation of Human Rights in Paris were informed of this. After this information, Antoine Garapone dispatched from Pristina another report, which

said that after the first telephone call, the policemen had taken him to the hotel room and controlled his luggage. He drew the conclusion that not only the human rights are violated in Kosovo, but it is impossible to control whether human rights are respected.

Commenting on the events of the past week in Kosovo, the West German newspaper DIE WELT wrote recently that the recent clashes in Kosovo were followed by a wave of arrests. In an article by its correspondent Karl Gustav Stroem, it is said that hundreds of people are arrested and imprisoned.

The other West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, carried a long article by its journalist, Viktor Meier on the current tense situation in Kosovo. After describing the actions of the police forces in Pristina after the opening of the trial against Vlasi, Meier stresses that since the announcement of the decision to curb the autonomy of the province, political repressive measures are being applied in Kosovo. Everything that has to do with the Albanians, he stresses, are considered as hostile, and the actions against them are presented as "struggle against nationalism and separatism."

Carcani Receives Vietnamese Ambassador 16 Nov

AU1711123989 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 17 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, received on November 16 the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Tirana, Le Ngoc Thanh, on occasion of his transfer and conducted a warm and friendly talk with him.

After evaluating the relations of friendship and of cooperation existing between Albania and Vietnam, Comrade Adil Carcani pointed out the possibilities to further develop them in the fields of economy, trade, science, culture, etc., which are of mutual interest for our two peoples and countries.

Attending the reception was also the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka.

Carcani Congratulates Turkey's New Prime Minister

AU1211213689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Telegram from Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Yildirim Akbulut, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey—date and place not given]

[Text] It is a special pleasure for me, on the occasion of your appointment to the post of prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, to convey to you my warm felicitations and to wish you success in your new and important duty.

Allow me, Excellency, to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation that exist between our two countries and people will be continually strengthened and extended in the future, in their mutual interest and in the interest of strengthening understanding and cooperation in the Balkans and beyond.

Paris-Tirana Air Service Inaugurated 14 Nov

AU1411203889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] A Paris-Tirana-Paris air service was inaugurated today.

On this occasion, a group of representatives of Air France arrived today in our country, with various personalities, representatives of various French commercial firms, members of the France-Albania Friendship Society, and so forth.

They were welcomed at Rinas Airport by representatives of the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Foreign Air Transportation Enterprise, and so forth.

This evening the Ministry of Transportation hosted a dinner at the Dajti Hotel.

Nexhmije Hoxha Speaks at 4 Nov Berat Meeting

AU0911194189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Nexhmije Hoxha, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee member and president of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front, at a meeting commemorating the 45th anniversary of the First Albanian Antifascist Women's Union Congress in Berat on 4 November]

[Text] Dear Comrades, whenever we meet in the ancient and beautiful city of Berat to commemorate the First Congress of Albanian Women, we experience sentiments of pride and special emotions.

It is an honor and pleasure to bring to you, comrades and sisters of partisan battles and of the great battle for the construction of socialism, the best greetings of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee and of Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

Many assemblies have been held in the past, but history had never seen one like this, when so many women from every corner of the country gathered to have their say as fighters for the country's future. This was indeed their moral right, because they had come from the battlefields, where they had shed their blood like men, from the cities and villages where they had opened up their homes, huts, and generous hearts, providing shelter for the partisans and brave underground fighters.

Albanian women have always cherished freedom, they have always loved work, enlightenment, and culture. With their motherly affection they have raised and educated generations to love their country ardently, cultivating the magnificent qualities of Albanian character. But only the ideals of the Communist Party and the National Liberation War really inspired their dreams and most revolutionary aspirations, and the women of Albania embraced these ideals immediately. No order, no decree could induce women and girls, who had been so oppressed in the past, to launch themselves into the struggle for national and social emancipation.

The women met at this historic Congress only a few days after the proclamation of the first Democratic Government. Precisely in those days, when the people were enjoying the fruits of their government, which they had set up with so much blood and sacrifices, the antiparty and antipeople elements, Koci Xoxe and company, were preparing, under Yugoslav direction, the infamous plot to eliminate the party's leadership and Comrade Enver Hoxha in order to deny the people the fruits of their liberation struggle.

However, while the plotters were hatching their intrigues, in the hall where the Congress was being held, the women of Albania manifested the unbreakable unity around the party and the Commander of the Liberation Army, giving unreserved support to the new government. It was this affection, loyalty, and great unity; these steel-like bonds between the party and the people, between the government and the army; together with Comrade Enver Hoxha's resolute revolutionary stand, based on the unswerving belief in the people's determination to march on this road, which thwarted all the diabolical plans of the enemy. They were unable to harm Enver, because he was protected by the vigilance and affection of the people.

Comrades,

During these 45 years of socialist construction, as a result of the efforts and struggles of all the people under the party's leadership, we have built a beautiful Albania, with a powerful multi-branched economy, a developed art and culture, and well-being for everyone. We did not become the slaves of foreigners and did not permit anyone to trample on our freedom, independence, and national sovereignty. As the most efficient order in the history of our country, socialism has demonstrated its vitality, liberated the spiritual world of people from outdated psychologies and the laws of religions and canons, created the new man, and really assured the freedoms and rights of citizens.

The revolution and socialism gave everything to Albanian women. But the latter, too, following the glorious traditions of the war, spared nothing to strengthen the people's regime and the country's economic and cultural development, became a great force for progress and a powerful factor without which the development of the economy, science, culture, and of the entire life of the country would be unthinkable.

The degree of a society's emancipation is measured with the degree of the emancipation of women. This is one of the most fundamental aspects of the country's further revolutionization, one of the most important factors in raising the role of women in society, in placing our families on sound new bases, in raising the role of women in political, social, productive, and creative activities. To us, who inherited a great backwardness, it is a great pride to see that we achieved this emancipation within a short time. It was not an easy thing to eradicate the old psychology and mentality based on the norms of the sheriat [Islamic law] and of the tribal laws, which kept women oppressed and enslaved. It is really inspiring to see now that the majority of women and girls working in agriculture have 8-year or secondary education, that more than half the students in our higher schools are girls, that we have so many women engineers, agronomists, artists, and scientists, and that women workers are in the majority in the health sector, in the trade sector, in the light industry and food industry, and so forth.

The emancipation of women is a continuing process. Women and their organization must appreciate the achievements to date and always keep high the banner of emancipation. Women must distinguish themselves everywhere as exemplary workers and citizens, for their militant spirit in fulfilling tasks and in the struggle against all manifestations that are alien to socialist morality. They must always bear in mind Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and be fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress.

The coming years will be characterized by the intensive development of agriculture and industry, science and culture, and higher demands for a cultured way of life. In implementing its programs, the party takes into consideration the inexhaustible physical and mental energies of women. "Women," Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, "have become a great force in all fields of work and life, an important factor of unity and progress!" Women must prepare themselves for the prospects opening for our country by taking further strides in the direction of their further emancipation. United in their militant organization, they must prepare themselves to cope even better with the present level of science and technology and must distinguish themselves in culture and conscious discipline, for higher quality and productivity.

As was stressed at the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum, the initiative and creative spirit of the masses must erupt now more strongly than ever before. The voice of women must be heard particularly in those branches where they have assumed the heavier burden. The role of the Women's Union must be raised.

Women have always fulfilled their mission as mothers. With passion and affection, they have taught their children not only what is good and bad in life, but have also prepared them to cope with even higher contemporary

demands. However, the demands made on women as mothers are even greater today, because we have to do with more emancipated women and with a young generation that is raised and enters life with wider interests. The party wants women to educate their children with the desire to learn, they must stimulate their inclination to measure themselves with the heights of science and technology, they must raise and temper them to be true revolutionaries.

Dear Comrades,

The world is in turmoil. The enemies of the revolution have mobilized their scribblers of all hues to slander and pour poison against the socialist order, wishing to present it as an order without a future and Marxism-Leninism as incapable of providing solutions to the problems of contemporary development. The regimes that have come to power in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere are striving to escape the grave political and economic crisis in which they find themselves through debts and various anti-socialist reforms. Ethnic crises and the mass revolts that have occurred, and the declining living standards have further exacerbated the class contradictions and are creating a confrontation between the peoples and their rulers. However, neither debts, nor Gorbachev's perestroyka, nor any other opportunistic theory can prevent revisionism from advancing on the road toward the abyss. The crisis that they are experiencing is not the crisis of socialism, but the crisis of their system. It is a consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

The international bourgeoisie is clamoring loudly about the so-called "abundance" in the capitalist society and is trying to create the illusion that freedom and real justice exist there, in order to conceal the exploitation of the peoples, and so forth. But the peoples know that their efforts are increasing the wealth of millionaires. They see that the bourgeoisie is using its "freedoms" and human "rights" as a facade to conceal the oppression and exploitation. Women, more than anyone else, are those who suffer from the evils of capitalism. Mothers are living in anxiety for the present and future of their children, who are under constant thereat of crime, drugs, and moral degeneration. No matter how much they may speak about the "emancipation" of women and their "culture," life in the bourgeois-revisionist countries shows that they are progressing steadily in the direction of spiritual and intellectual enslavement.

In these days, when the party and our people are preparing to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, we look back with pride along the road that we have traversed. Together with the men, the women of our country will always march confidently and loyally on this road, which is our road of honor, the road indicated by the unforgettable leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the road along which our glorious AWP, led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, is guiding us.

Long live the 45th anniversary of the First Congress of Albanian Women!

Long live the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the victory of the people's revolution!

Retirement Age for Female Coop Members Lowered

AU1411203589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Decree issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly in Tirana on 13 November]

[Text] In conformity with Article 78 of the Constitution and acting on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

Article 1. Article 4A is to be added to Article 4 in Law No. 4976, dated 29 June 1972, on pensions for members of agricultural cooperatives, consisting of the following contents:

Women, members of agricultural cooperatives, who have borne and raised six or more children up to the age of 8 years, have a right to receive a retirement pension after reaching the age of 50 years if they have worked for at least 15 years.

Article 2. This decree is enacted 15 days after its publication in the Official Gazette.

Tirana, 13 November 1989.

Decree No. 7339.

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Party Conferences in Lushnje, Other Districts

AU0711141389

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 28 and 29 October and 1 and 2 November carries on page 2 reports of Albanian Workers Party (AWP) District Committee conferences held in various districts.

The paper on 28 October carries a 1,000-word report by Bashkim Koci, entitled "Work on Directives Means First of All Work With People," on the conference of the Lushnje AWP District Committee, held on 25-26 October. The report states that Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended the conference and spoke on "increasing the leading role of basic organizations in implementing the directives of the eighth party Central Committee plenum." The report also states that Themie Thomai was reelected as first secretary of the Lushnje AWP District Committee.

The paper on 29 October carries an 800-word report by Vangjel Stefa, entitled "More Determination and Imagination To Fulfill Tasks on All Fronts," on the "recent" conference of the Vlore AWP District Committee, attended by Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member. The report mentions Marko as speaking on problems in increasing production and states that Faik Cinaj was reelected as first secretary of the Vlore AWP District Committee.

The paper on 1 November carries a 1,000-word report by Sotiraq Gjordeni, entitled "The Tasks of the Times Call for New Standards of Militancy," on the conference of the Durres AWP District Committee, held on 30-31 October, and attended by Muho Asllani and Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo members. According to the report, Murra spoke on the importance of using imagination in party work, and Muho Asllani was reelected as first secretary of the Durres AWP District Committee.

The paper on 2 November carries a 900-word report by Thanas Dino, entitled "The Masses Always Enrich and Follow the Party's Guidelines," on the "recent" conference of the Sarande AWP District Committee, attended by Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member. The report states that Nexhmije Hoxha spoke, "stressing that one of the fundamental demands of the eighth party Central Committee plenum and Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech is to increase and strengthen the party's leading role." The report states that Syrja Dosti was reelected as first secretary of the Sarande AWP District Committee.

Party Conferences in Shkoder, Other Districts

AU1511105389

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 10 and 12 November carries on page two reports of Albanian Workers Party (AWP) conferences held in Shkoder, Fier, Diber, Korce, and Kukes districts.

The paper on 10 November carries a 1,000-word report by Albert Shala, entitled "Strengthening the Party's Leading Role Is Measured by Improved Economic Productivity," on the "recent" Shkoder District AWP Conference, attended by Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member. The report states that Cami spoke on "deepening the militancy in the work of party basic organizations," and "improving the scientific level of management." The report also states that Xhemal Dymylja was reelected as first secretary of the Shkoder AWP District Committee.

The same paper carries an 800-word report by Halil Lalaj, entitled "More Determination, Initiative, and Creativity in Labor," on the "recent" Fier District AWP Conference, attended by Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member. The report states that Bekteshi spoke on "the need for a radical turning point in stockraising." The report also states that Halil Hasko was reelected as first secretary of the Fier AWP District Committee.

The paper on 11 November carries an 800-word report by Frano Caka, entitled "Increasing Tasks Demand More Militancy," on the "recent" Diber District AWP Conference, attended by Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member. Myftiu is reported as speaking on improving the mechanization of the chrome industry, and on "improving stockraising." The report also states that Xhelil Gjoni was reelected as first secretary of Diber AWP District Committee.

The paper on 12 November carries a 1,000-word report by Kostaq Duka, entitled "Management Ability Should Rely on Economic Methods," on Korce District AWP Conference, date not given. The report states that Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended the conference, and said in his speech that "On one hand we say that Marxist-Leninist theory is not dogma but a guideline for action; this is correct, but on the other hand we still treat the subjects of the political economies of socialism and capitalism as we did 30 years ago. Is there no way to make these subjects topical? Without submitting Marx's schemes to an up-to-date analysis, we cannot propose what needs to be done under our conditions, at our country's present economic phase and level, to ensure the progress of light industry and agriculture, and to meet even better the people's needs for food and consumer goods." The report states that Vangjel Cerrava was reelected as first secretary of Korce AWP District Committee.

The same paper carries an 800-word report by Naim Zoto, entitled "The Strength of the Party in Every Sector," on the "recent" Kukes District AWP Conference, attended by Petro Dode, AWP Central Committee member. The report states that Miti Nito was re-elected as first secretary of Kukes AWP District Committee.

USSR Supreme Soviet Congratulates Mladenov

AU1711210689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent the following telegram to Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council:

Dear Comrade Mladenov, please accept our cordial congratulations on the occasion of your election to the post of chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

We express confidence that the Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and comprehensive cooperation will reliably serve the interests of our two countries.

We wish you great successes in the radical renewal of Bulgarian society, in consolidating the prestige and authority of socialist Bulgaria in the world.

100,000 Rally at National Assembly 17 Nov

AU1711200389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Over 100,000 Sofia citizens gathered today in front of the National Assembly Building to participate in a rally in support of restructuring in Bulgaria and for its acceleration.

Slogans were shouted: "Today we already know what freedom is!;" "No to demagogy, and no to corruption;" "People's Power Today!;" "Restructuring is our (?asset), and we will not let it go!"

Not only the slogans but also the atmosphere of the rally was untraditional. Party and state leaders were ordinary participants. The original speakers list was set aside, and the audience called the speakers to the rostrum, whose views the people wanted to hear and in which they believed.

The rally ended with the adoption of a declaration of the participants in support of restructuring.

Declaration Adopted

AU1811162789 Sofia BTA in English 2331 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—The one-hundred-thousand participants in today's meeting in front of the National Assembly in Sofia adopted a declaration on the acceleration of restructuring and in support of the policy line of the new leadership. They raised demands for democracy, pluralism, for true government by the people, for social justice, tolerance of different opinions, for a clean ethical atmosphere in society. The declaration says: The struggle for democratic and humane socialism should be fought with the weapon of openness.

The speakers at the rally pinned their hopes for the beginning of restructuring, for real democracy and openness on the resolutions of the two November plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. This was evident in the statements of high-ranking state and party officials, veteran members of the BCP, workers, intellectuals, public figures and members of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Addressing the new leadership of the country and of the BCP, the speakers expressed the hope that the BCP will turn into the democratic motor force of restructuring, that individual liberty, freedom of speech and justice will be guaranteed.

The statements voiced support for the resolutions on changes in the Council of Ministers which the National Assembly adopted at its session today. The statements contained recommendations for the state of the economy to be analysed with the help of experts and for an economic programme to be worked out.

The rally was organised on the initiative of the political and public forces committees with the Fatherland Front and of the citizens.

Details of Independent Rally 18 Nov

AU1811145589

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 18 November begins its main midday newscast with a 4-minute dispatch by their correspondent Ivan Obretenov, "who returned from the Aleksandur Nevski Square a few minutes ago," on "the atmosphere around the Aleksandur Nevski Memorial Cathedral in Sofia, where precisely 1 hour ago a rally meeting, organized by independent societies, clubs, and citizens' associations, in support of the new policy course" set by the 10 and 16 November Plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the National Assembly session of 17 November. This is followed by recordings totalling 5 minutes of the views of ordinary citizens of Sofia on the radical changes.

Obretenov reports that speakers at the rally voiced such sentiments as: "Let us support the changes as a first step toward restoration; let us express our sincere support for radical democratic changes: glasnost, free dialogue between everyone concerning everything." Having also attended the 17 November rally in front of the National Assembly, Obretenov claims that he can say that "both today's and yesterday's events reflect with equal strength and no adulterations the people's aspirations for freedom to express themselves."

As a general indication "of the mood prevailing around the cathedral," Obretenov then offers a recorded statement he took half an hour previously from the publicist Stefan Prodev, "a member of the initiative committee for the rally."

In this recording, Prodev states: "From now on what is important is the direction. There may be doubts, there may be hesitations, there may be various forms of

wavering and vacillating, but the main thing is that the road has been opened. From now on everything depends on us."

Obretenov's dispatch is followed by a recorded report from Stefan Donchev on the atmosphere in Sofia's streets and squares, with brief recorded views of ordinary Sofia citizens. An unidentified woman says, "I regard what is happening with optimism." From his meeting with a young family a short time previously, Donchev concludes: "One thing is clear: People expect to see that there will be some changes in their lives." An unidentified woman is recorded as saying: "I believe in the young generation. They will struggle for the changes."

The studio announcer then comments: "The decisions of the plenums of the BCP Central Committee this month and yesterday's session of the National Assembly provide good reason for every honest, upright Bulgarian to feel spontaneous excitement." Proof of this, says the announcer, is provided by the recordings by Irina Peeva of her meetings with Sofia citizens today. Among these recordings a journalist is heard saying: "In my view, immense hopes are opened up for our people, but this change, unfortunately, has been very much delayed. No one was able to renew anything for 30 or 40 years, and we must begin building socialism anew, without its deformations." Other citizens are also heard expressing their great hopes, support for Petur Mladenov and the renewed party and state leadership, and willingness to work to renew Bulgaria.

Resolution Adopted

AU1811152889 Sofia BTA in English
1440 GMT 18 Nov 89

["Rally in Sofia in Support of the Democratic Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—Tens of hundreds of Sofianites and citizens of other cities of this country participated today in a three-hour rally in support of restructuring. The rally was organized by the independent organizations in Bulgaria. Their speakers insisted for democratic changes and expressed their expectation that the country's and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] new leadership will produce evidence of its adherence to the policy of restructuring and openness.

The rally adopted a resolution addressed to the chairman of the National Assembly insisting that urgent measures be taken in protection of the socially weak, for freedom of speech and print, for removing the ban on the works of art, for freedom of the political prisoners and warrants which will make possible the return to Bulgaria of those who have left the country for political reasons.

The rally hailed the abolition of Article 273 of the Penal Code at yesterday's session of the National Assembly on the initiative of Mr Petur Mladenov, and insisted on the removal of all other articles restricting civil rights. Among the demands in the resolution is the one about the provision of normal conditions for work for the informal groups and movements.

There were demands to seek responsibility from the ones who are to blame for the country's state, and some of the speakers stressed that the changes should take place only by democratic means.

The participants carried slogans, appealing for holding of elections and changes in the Constitution.

Speeches at Rally

AU1811195689 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 18 Nov 89

["Rally in Sofia (Expanded Version)"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—Tens of thousands of people gathered today at the Aleksandur Nevski Square in a rally, called on the initiative of nine independent informal associations and movements. For three hours the public listened to 17 speakers. There were cheers, chanting and catcalls. Many were the slogans insisting to seek responsibility from the guilty and requesting for elections and a new Constitution, for freedom of speech and pluralism. There was one of them, however, which showed best the spirit and atmosphere of the rally: "Changes Now, Democracy Today, Openness at Once."

It was used in the statement of Anzhel Vagenstayn, who places the changes, taking place in this country after the election of Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], in the context of events taking place in the socialist countries. This is a powerful process making its way forward through pseudo-socialism, he said. His words that the itinerary is marked by the three landmarks of Gorbachev: restructuring, openness, democracy, brought about storms of applause and chanting.

There are in the present party and state leadership capable personalities of high professional qualities, who can be allies in the struggle for democracy, Petko Simeonov said. He, too, like most of the speakers, demanded that responsibility be sought from the culprits for the country's present situation and stressed that there is no need for revenge, as it never brings to anything good.

Damyan Iliev, the builder known all over the country, said that the first step forward is made, and there is no way back. He, like some of the other speakers, sees warrants for that in the National Assembly which should work as a true national parliament. His words that the workers' party is backing the restructuring were convincing.

Almost all of the speakers expressed support for the course pursued by the new party and state leadership. "The stone has already been thrown in the mire of stagnation and it is our duty to support those who have thrown it," Petur Beron said. Radoy Ralin called for supporting the efforts of Petur Mladenov for uniting all

people's forces, to save the fatherland. "It is our duty to express our solidarity with the changes in the party and state leadership. At the same time, however, we firmly state that this solidarity can be relied upon only if there is complete identity between words and deeds, only if Bulgaria turns into an intensive and intellectual living space for democratic changes and pluralism which is restricted by nothing and no one," Edvin Sugarev said.

Among the other speakers at the rally were Konstantin Trunchev, Georgi Mishev, Rumen Vodenicharov, Kiril Vasilev, Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, Khristofor Subev, Anton Zapryanov, Petur Gogov, Emil Koshlakov. There were "unplanned" speakers, too: With cheers and chanting the people demanded to hear Blaga Dimitrova and Petur Slabakov.

A resolution was adopted at the rally addressed at the chairman of the National Assembly and the mass media.

It raised three groups of demands. The first were social: to take urgent measures for protection of the socially weak members of society. The second group was related to the freedom of speech and free expression of pluralism of the opinions. And the third was for changes in the legislation, which will help Bulgaria develop along the way of democracy and turn it into a state committed to the rule of law.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 18 November carries a report of the Sofia rally that is identical to the above, also adding the following: "As our correspondents from the country report, rallies in support of the course adopted toward democracy, glasnost, and legality were held in Gabrovo, Veliko Turnovo, Plovdiv, and elsewhere"]

Changes Made in Council of Ministers

AU1711194889 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—At today's session of the National Assembly Mr Kiril Zarev was elected deputy chairman of the National Assembly and minister of economy and planning. Mr Mincho Yovchev was elected deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technology. Mr Georgi Pirinski and Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov were elected deputy ministers of the Council of Ministers; Mr Boyko Dimitrov was elected minister of foreign affairs, Mr Belcho Belchev—minister of finance, Mr Khristo Khristov—minister of foreign economic relations, Mr Ivan Shpatov —minister of home trade, Mr Petur Petrov—minister of construction, architecture and public works. Mr Nikolay Dyulgerov becomes chairman of the State Committee for the Protection of the Environment. Mr Petur Balevski was approved as a member of the government and first deputy minister of economy and planning.

The following were removed from office: Mr Petko Danchev from his post as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Mr Aleksandur Fol from his post as chairman of the National Council of Education, Science and Culture; Mr Andrey Lukanov from his post as minister of foreign economic relations; Mr Stoyan Ovcharov from his post as minister of economy and planning; Mr Petur Mladenov from his post as minister of foreign affairs.

The proposal for the changes at the Council of Ministers was presented by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and approved by the National Assembly.

Besides personnel changes, structural changes were made in the government as well.

In the place of the Ministry of Economy and Planning now two ministries are set up: a Ministry of Planning whose new functions shall include planning, pricing and state economic regulation of economic activity, and a Ministry of Finance.

A Ministry of Industry and Technology is also set up which will pursue the state policy in the structural and technological restructuring and in the all-round development of the industry.

Bringing forth the arguments for his proposal, Mr Georgi Atanasov underlined that the previously established associations, having not managed to overcome the tendency of becoming bureaucratic, became an intermediary link between the state and the companies and turned out to be useless under the new conditions.

A Ministry of Home Trade is set up and the former department with the Ministry of Economy and Planning is closed down.

The Committee for the Protection of the Environment is transformed into a state committee, acquiring the rank of a Ministry. It will have strong supradepartmental functions in view of the policy for the protection and the regeneration of the environment.

A Ministry of Construction, Architecture and Public Works is also set up.

A Committee of Energy and a Committee of Communications and Informatics are set up with the Council of Ministers.

The National Council of Education, Science and Culture is closed down as an unnecessary level of management over the existing Ministry of National Education, the Committee of Culture and the Committee of Science and Higher Education.

Newspaper Editorial Assesses Recent Changes

AU2011135789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 p 3

[Editorial article: "Week of Hope"]

[Text] Two plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]; a session of the

National Assembly; a meeting of Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, with representatives of the intelligentsia; and a very important decision on restoring the party membership of 13 persons. Personnel changes in the Politburo, Secretariat, Central Committee, Council of Ministers, State Council, and National Assembly commissions that are unprecedented in extent and importance. Lively demonstrations of all-people's support for the new course of restructuring, an awakening of the people's political energy, and clear expressions of hopes for real change. According to what many of our readers have said—these are dynamics that were unknown in our country for many years.

And all this within 7 days.

Is this a lot or just a little bit?

Everyone can answer this question for himself. The important thing is that, at least on the basis of the letters to the newspaper, the discussions at the editorial board, and the meetings of the journalists with many citizens, the measures that have been adopted are being greeted as urgent and long-awaited. They are being greeted with certain hope that they will be followed by other decisions that give a real impetus to restructuring.

Naturally, the hopes of many people are mixed with a certain amount of skepticism. In the past, while good ideas have repeatedly been presented or proposed and near and more distant positive goals have been suggested, nothing changed afterward. Promises, often related to specific timetables, frequently sank in the files and left the people with a sense of being cheated. Therefore, the skepticism with which many citizens view the recent developments is justified and understandable.

The party leadership takes this into consideration. It knows that restoring confidence in itself and in the party depends exclusively on the harmony between words and deeds. It all depends on the Central Committee's readiness to part with a certain past and style imposed by one single figure and the people close to him. This readiness was expressed with sufficient clarity at the 16 November BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The irreversible nature of the positive processes also depends on the active position of the entire party and on the struggle it must wage in order to restore both the people's confidence and its vanguard role in these difficult times. The irreversible nature of the positive processes also depends on the categorical position and willingness of all people—willingness to work honestly and make real efforts to implement restructuring in the name of man and his development.

A week of hope has passed.

The time of anticipated fruitful deeds continues its march.

Report on National Assembly Session

AU1811185189 Sofia BTA in English 2140 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—At today's session of the National Assembly which was directly broadcast by the Bulgarian Radio and Television, Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], was unanimously elected president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

The agenda of the session—the first after the November plenum of the CC of the BCP, included a number of organizational questions.

Before electing the new president of the State Council, the people's deputies cast their vote for the dismissal of Mr Todor Zhivkov from this post.

Mr Mladenov delivered a speech in which he paid special attention to the place, the role and the work of the National Assembly. (The full text of his speech is transmitted as a separate item.)

The deputies approved the proposal for structural and personnel changes at the Council of Ministers presented by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, which he motivated with the nature of the problems the country is facing and with their urgent character.

Mr Georgi Atanasov pointed out that the plenum of the CC of the BCP held on November 10 laid the beginnings of a turning point in the activity of the party and the state.

Conditions for a change in essence, for eliminating the distortions in our work and for the construction of a society based on the principles of democracy, self-management and glasnost have now appeared, he underlined.

Mr Atanasov pointed out that the innovation of the structure and the membership of the Council of Ministers became a matter of urgency also because of the socio-economic situation in the country at the moment. The comprehensive processes of innovation are inseparable from the elimination of the administrative-command mechanisms and the transition to economic leverage in management. On the other hand it is taken into account that the economy and the other spheres are in a qualitatively new situation. The sweeping changes in the international division of labour require a radical and, therefore, painful structural restructuring, an in-principle change of the economic regulators.

All this makes it necessary to form a government which will be able to take the country's economy out of the complicated situation it is in, at that not by temporary administrative measures, but on a long-term economic basis, Mr Georgi Atanasov stressed.

Life has convincingly shown that the government model which was formed in the last years was not successful, he said. Then he dwelt on the changes made in the central state bodies in the last few years.

At the same time, Mr Atanasov pointed out that it is appropriate to preserve some positive aspects of the changes made up to now, for example the elimination of the specialized departmental state management of the industry and the basic features of the company organization.

The main principles on which the proposed structure is based are: The state bodies should provide complex regulation and control in all social spheres; specialized state bodies should be set up in those sectors where the natural priorities of the Bulgarian society and its economy are; the functions of the state and the functions of the companies should be differentiated and the number of units within the system of management should be decreased; prerequisites for guaranteeing greater stability of the state structures should be created.

Mr Georgi Atanasov said that as early as next year the expenses on office staff will be cut down by 25 per cent. (The structural and personal changes are transmitted separately.)

The people's deputies cast their vote for the inclusion of Mr Andrey Lukanov and Mr Nacho Papazov in the State Council and for the dismissal of Mr Grisha Filipov, Mr Milko Balev, Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, Mr Yaroslav Radev and Mr Andrey Bundzhulov.

The following were removed from their posts as chairmen and deputy chairmen of the National Assembly Standing Committees: Mr Grisha Filipov from his post as chairman of the Committee of Socio-Economic Development; Mr Milko Balev from his post as chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee; Mr Emil Khristov from his post as chairman of the Social Policy Committee; Mr Yaroslav Radev from his post as chairman of the Legislative Committee; Mr Vasil Tsanov from his post as deputy chairman of the Committee for the Protection and Regeneration of the Environment.

A resolution was adopted to fill in these posts at the next session of the National Assembly.

In conformity with Article 76, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution of Bulgaria, the National Assembly relieved Mr Todor Zhivkov of his post as chairman of the Constitutional Amendment Drafting Commission.

Mr Petur Mladenov was elected chairman of the commission.

The additional nomination of Mr Andrey Lukanov, Mr Aleksandur Yankov, Mr Vasil Mruchkov, Mr Kostadin Yanchev and Mr Stanko Todorov for members of the commission was approved.

Mr Petur Mladenov proposed to discuss a criminal code amendment bill and an amnesty bill.

According to the formulations of the November plenum of the CC of the BCP the goal of democratizing in deed all the society makes it necessary for Bulgaria to gradually develop into a law-based state, in which by order of law the conditions for the expansion of democracy and the guaranteeing of citizens' freedom and rights should be created, pointed out the president of State Council, who proposed that Article 273 of the Criminal Code should be cancelled and the crimes committed under it should be amnestied.

The text of this article to which an amendment was made in 1982 and to which an addition was made in 1985 reads: "However knowingly makes public untrue allegations of such nature as to rouse mistrust in the authority or its activity or stirs up social commotion, or perpetrates another act which they know that will produce such effect shall be liable to a maximum prison term of two years or corrective labour and besides the court can rule internal exile."

The people's deputies passed the two bills.

The deputies took part very actively in the debates on all items on the agenda.

The Eleventh Session of the Ninth National Assembly was closed with a speech of the chairman of the parliament, Mr Stanko Todorov. He pointed out that the changes which are being brought about in all spheres of social life are a condition for the restoration of the sovereignty of the National Assembly in its capacity of a supreme body of power in conformity with the Constitution.

Mr Stanko Todorov said that the National Assembly was consciously deprived of individuality and rights, it was deprived of the least possibility to show initiative. He substantiated his statement by facts and told how his attempts at expressing his views on these questions were aborted. Mr Stanko Todorov's disagreement with the formalism imposed on the National Assembly was the cause for his giving in his resignation a year and a half ago. It was not accepted by the then-president of the State Council Todorov Zhivkov and by the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Todorov had to withdraw it.

Mr Todorov said that now it is necessary to make a radical change. As is normal for a law-based civilized state, the parliament will discuss in detail and not formally the main problems of the country's life. The coming new time requires active work in the constituencies, at the standing parliamentary committees and all sessions. In his opinion now it is a must for the National Assembly to exert tight control over the activity of the government and its bodies and the deputies must actively participate in the working out of laws.

The chairman of the National Assembly called upon the people's deputies to make proposals for the reduction of

the unjustifiably large expenses in the budget, to seek for sources for decreasing the great budget deficit and raising funds for settling the most acute social problems.

According to Mr Stanko Todorov the people's deputies will have to efficiently exercise control over the administration, to root out all bureaucratic manifestations which aggravate people's life or violate human rights.

The parliament will have to work out and adopt a realistic plan for the development of the country in 1990 which should counter effectively the negative tendencies in the economy.

The chairman of the National Assembly called upon the people's deputies to restore with their personal behaviour the electorate's "somewhat lost" confidence that they have worthy representatives in the supreme body of power and not an obedient machine approving decisions taken beforehand somewhere else.

Names Added to Reinstated Party Members List

AU1711214789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Supplement to the Information About Meeting of BCP Politburo"]

[Text] The names of Ivan Nikolov and Ivan Marev were omitted in our report on the 14 November Politburo meeting related to a group of reinstated party members.

BZNS Council To Discuss Plenum Decisions

AU1811135389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The initiative committee of the independent clubs and societies in Bulgaria is convening a rally meeting at 1100 [0900 GMT] today in the Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia. The rally is devoted to the decisions of the two last plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the National Assembly session.

The BCP Central Committee plenums of 10 and 16 November and yesterday's National Assembly session will also be discussed at a session that the Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union will hold on Monday 20 November.

Greets Plenum Decisions

AU1811220389 Sofia BTA in English 2040 GMT 18 Nov 89

["Resolution of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS)"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—The Managing Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party circulated a resolution which highly estimates the resolutions of the November (1989) Plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The Managing Board, the resolution reads, warmly hails the election of Mr Petur Mladenov as secretary general of the CC of the BCP and State Council president, which corresponds to the country's highest interests. The United Agrarians wish him many successes and endless strength in his versatile activity for the prosperity of the people and the fatherland.

The Managing Board expresses the conviction that the resolutions of the party forum of November 16 this year and the 11th session of the Ninth National Assembly for significant changes in the senior party and state leadership are significant steps for the destruction of the structure of the command and bureaucratic system, for the further realization of the turning line of renewal of socialism in the country.

The Managing Board expresses support to Mr Mladenov's final speech before the National Assembly as a concentrated programme about the major problems which the people will solve in the difficult time of restructuring. The board met with deep satisfaction the political principles for building of Bulgaria as a modern and democratic state committed to the rule of law, for the development of people's power and self-management, for placing in the centre of attention prosperity and elevation of the human personality, openness and pluralism of opinions.

The United Agrarians are responding with sincere satisfaction to the conviction, expressed by the secretary general of the CC of the BCP, that along the way of restructuring the party will rely on the active participation in this process of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. They are convinced that in the serene atmosphere of changes wider prospects open up before the Bulgarian Agrarian Party to truly express itself as a democratic agrarian party with its own appearance in the country and on the international arena, with an expressed role in Bulgaria's political system. The restructuring is powerfully placing on the agenda the need of a new statute and programme tasks of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party for the socialist advance of our fatherland.

The Managing Board thinks that the way for development and regeneration of the Bulgarian village, for the advance of agriculture passes through the decisive democratization of economic life and the establishment of a situation in which the efforts and the economic initiative will gain a worthy social acknowledgement.

That is why it is necessary for the state to give greater support to agriculture.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the resolution goes on to say, will in future, too, contribute to the consistent efforts of our country for the improvement of the climate in the Balkans for peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation between the Balkan peoples, for building of the common European home, for a peaceful and violence-free world, filled with the ideals of humanism, human reconciliation and solidarity.

People's Support for Mladenov Described

AU1711162389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] As you know, or perhaps you have heard from the "Khorizont" program of the Bulgarian Radio or seen on Bulgarian Television, in addition to the people's representatives, the invited guests, and journalists who were in the National Assembly hall, the session was also watched by all those Bulgarian citizens who were patiently waiting at the entrance of the National Assembly building for the appearance of the newly elected chairman of the State Council.

The people's exultation exploded when he appeared. Exclamations of "Bravo!," applause, and hands raised high in victory signs demonstrated the sincere and unadulterated happiness of the people, which accompanied Petur Mladenov, who walked along the entire length of the road from the National Assembly to the building of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Trade Union Daily Assesses Recent Changes

AU1911160389

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 15 November on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,200-word article by Tosho Toshev entitled "Restoring Confidence." Toshev sees "the lack of confidence" as a "main factor in Bulgarian society today." In this context he points out that "today nobody wants to believe anybody. People do not believe in the political decisions and the new structures and decrees." He cites the example of the "recent decree on establishing a Committee on Construction and Territorial Settlement and abolishing the existing state organizations," and stresses that "two months after the decree was published it was canceled."

Further on Toshev describes the previous practice to extol every new decision. "We were enchanted and praised everything," he points out and stresses that "this gradually created the main deficit—the deficit of confidence." In this context he criticizes excessive praise of Mladenov's speech at the 10 November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and says: "It was a well-measured political declaration, which outlines intentions and preserves the proper diplomatic tone." He urges his colleagues "to be more careful with words," and emphasizes that "the new general secretary does not need easy praise."

Assessing the importance of the BCP Central Committee 10 November Plenum Toshev, points out that "it finally opened the door, which, if properly utilized, could lead toward life without illusions."

Turning to the importance of the Politburo decision to restore the party membership of several writers, journalists, and scientists, Toshev says: "Undoubtedly, the decision is positive in principle. However, it leaves something unclear and something that was not completely explained—why was it adopted? Have the persons in question been, so to speak, pardoned because they have been re-educated, or was it a matter of eliminating a wrong act?"

In conclusion he urges the adoption of "real steps" that will "purge the air of the smoke of false attitude and lack of confidence."

Sofia TRUD in Bulgaria on 16 November on page 4 carries a 900-word article by Tatyana Dimitrova entitled "Price of Confidence." Dimitrova predicts that "the dissatisfaction of the people will be demonstrated ever more clearly, and this must not scare us." She describes the anguish of Bulgarian journalists who wanted to describe the developments in other socialist countries, but were prevented from doing so. "We wanted to write honestly, without prejudices, about things many of us saw with our own eyes, about things we read in Soviet and other foreign newspapers, and about what our foreign colleagues told us. However, under conditions of glasnost that ostensibly existed in our country, we had to whisper among ourselves and measure the information we published drop by drop. This was so because we were told that the foreign 'bad example' was contagious."

In this context Dimitrova describes the 4 November demonstration in East Berlin which she witnessed. After stressing that "almost all world television stations showed the demonstration," Dimitrova says: "The admonishing finger of our high-ranking officials allowed our major newspaper to merely publish a small report of 10-20 lines, which in fact did not reveal anything. During many years these officials jealously guarded the ignorance of the Bulgarian readers and listeners."

Dimitrova describes Mladenov's meeting with Bulgarian journalists soon after his election as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee as a positive change. Nevertheless, she criticizes the manner in which the press reported on the meeting "citing merely 2-3 routine sentences of Petur Mladenov's speech on that occasion." In conclusion Dimitrova points out: "I think that it is high time that our mass media assume their lawful place—to report first and in an objective manner everything that is taking place in our country. This is the only way of restoring the confidence that has been lost."

Komsomol Letter Supports Restructuring

AU2011082389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 1

["Open letter" issued by the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol to the BCP Central Committee—date and place not given]

[Text] Comrades, the session and the decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Part Central Committee evoke an ardent and natural response, as well as the approval and support of all our public, of the Komsomol members, and all Bulgarian boys and girls.

We are convinced that the recent plenum will be a turning point in the party's and country's development and will play an exceptionally important role in intensifying and animating the restructuring process.

Today we link the future of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the requirement for a definite and irrevocable dismantling of the commanding-administrative system, the adaptation of economy to the new realities, the adoption of glasnost as a principle of party and state policy, the new political thinking, and the profound changes under way in the USSR and in other socialist countries. A great deal is at stake—Bulgaria's development as a modern socialst and law-governed state is at stake and for this reason the future of restructuring depends on each of us.

We are well aware of the fact that we are expected to accomplish great and responsible tasks and that the well-known scenarios and approaches of the past are not adequate to these tasks. There is even more: They are likely to obstruct our work and prevent us from accomplishing the great cause, they are counterproductive to the free, creative spirit.

We are appealing to you, the BCP Central Committee members, in the conviction that the principles of open-minded and honest discussion will result in decisions that should be up to the mark of the requirements and expectations of our society. Such decisions should unleash the people's energies. We are confident that the thorough and comprehensive discussion of the country's situation will map out the correct path for an accelerated progress, for a path that should lead us to the construction of a self-managing, socialist, civic society.

You can rest assured that the Dimitrov Komsomol, and the boys and girls of Bulgaria are convinced supporters of restructuring. There is no alternative to restructuring for us—it is our fate and destiny.

The Komsomol Central Committee will work with new criteria for the adoption of a modern style, and for an active dialogue, so that the youth union may become an open youth and social organization which the young people shall consider a necessity, for the orientation of the young generation's efforts to creative and constructive deeds.

The young people understand and support the party's new policy. With their efforts and creative spirit they shall build their own future and the future of socialism on Bulgarian territory.

Students Call for Establishment of New Union

AU1911192089 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 19 (BTA)—An address was circulated here today by the Bulgarian students for the founding of a students union in Bulgaria.

The change of society is at last in our hands, too, the address reads, and after the stagnation and the violation of socialist ideals, the time has come to change decisively the students union, the time has come to become citizens with equal rights.

The appeal includes the demand for democracy in the higher educational establishments in the country, for quick, decisive and final dismantling of the command and administrative system, for complete openness and publicity of the problems of students and of the whole society, for protection of the rights of students, for parallel school disciplines, lectures and lecturers, for self-management at the solution of problems from the everyday life and self-realization.

The appeal is signed by initiative groups of students, Komsomol associations and organizations from the Universities and the higher educational establishments, the Council of Students and the Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the Young Communist League (Komsomol).

Army Newspaper Assesses BCP CC Plenum

AU1511095789 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Seek Our Place"]

[Text] In all our newspaper assessments we have become accustomed to extensively using the word "historical." We even called "historical" certain speeches and statements that were quite commonplace in their meaning and contents. It is simply that over the years we have learned to use superlatives.

With regard to the decisions of the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], we can say they are important, very important—for the party, the people, the state, the fate of restructuring, and its future successes. Every Bulgarian citizen is well aware of the plenum decisions, and during the last few days they have been the subject of continuous discussion, arguments, and approval. They are also a source of hope for all who have placed their faith in restructuring and desire its further implementation.

The concluding speech to the plenum by Petur Mladenov, the newly elected general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, contains the greatest grounds for optimism.

It is clear to everyone that the command-administrative system, which has been rejected by life itself, is the fundamental reason for a number of processes that have obstructed the country's economic, cultural, and social development. The firmly rooted, ossified bureaucracy has developed into an insurmountable barrier to the people's creative impulses.

The party sees and takes account of its errors, sees the need for a radical restructuring of public-political and social life, and has outlined its strategy.

In order to realize the lofty humane ideals upon which our society is built, economic and political activity must turn their face toward man, be directed toward him in order to provide him with opportunities for calm, creative, and many-sided development. This necessity was categorically emphasized at the plenum.

However, the fulfillment of this task is impossible without the democratization of society, without creating an atmosphere of glasnost and pluralism of opinions, especially when these opinions are permeated with an identical concern for achieving one and the same goal, namely restructuring. For this reason, one is delighted by the task set by the plenum that all matters relating to guaranteeing the democratic organization of society and the liberty of the individual on the basis of comprehensive development of democracy should be decided by means of legislation.

These processes must and can also be reflected in the life of the military collectives. This means that the whole of service life must be focused upon the Bulgarian soldier, with his mentality and real requirements and possibilities for development, in order to make a clean break with the practice of certain commanders and political officers of regarding the soldier merely as a functionary who carries out defined tasks. This means intensifying and fully completing the process of democratization and glasnost that has started in the party organizations, a process that is capable of mobilizing the efforts of the servicemen to achieve new qualitative parameters in combat and political training and combat readiness.

However, let us not draw the hasty conclusion that the plenum decisions can solve by themselves all the problems that now face society as a whole. This can only come about with the efforts and joint labor of all Communists, all workers, and all Bulgarian citizens. Even the most correct decision is powerless to destroy the methods and approaches of the command-administrative system unless it is taken up by the masses, unless the masses themselves, on the basis of their professional and social experience, propose alternative new methods and approaches.

This is one of the main tasks facing the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army—uniting the creative and intellectual energies of the Communists of all generations, the Komsomol, and non-party men to fulfill the difficult tasks they have been set, in order to implement restructuring. For the Army is an inalienable part of society.

Restructuring has a future, and will achieve this future in conditions of glasnost and democracy. Glasnost can only be one thing—genuine. The same is true for democracy. However, we should not forget that glasnost and democracy do not mean anarchy. In the Army both glasnost and democracy must "peacefully" coexist with the fundamental principle of one-man command and the requirements of the military statutes. At first sight, is not this perhaps a paradox? The positive changes completed so far in a number of detachments, the creation of an atmosphere of unity of action between the commanders and party and Komsomol organizations demonstrate that this is a real possibility. Moreover, the results there are not slow in coming.

Yet, let us turn again to the work of the BCP Central Committee plenum, in order to remind ourselves of one of its most important ingredients, which we have deliberately left until the end, namely that the restructuring of Bulgaria is possible solely and exclusively within the framework of socialism, and that Bulgaria will continue to be a strong link in the socialist community and will work actively for consolidating the role and authority of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA under contemporary conditions.

This means that the defenders of socialist Bulgaria, of the Bulgaria to be renewed in the future, must find their place, role, and responsibility in the process of restructuring. The path is chosen, the direction is clear. Let restructuring take place!

Mladenov, Atanasov Meet Army Leadership

AU1811182889 Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—Today a meeting was held between Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and State Council president of Bulgaria, Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP and the senior leadership of the Bulgarian National Army. They were acquainted with the Army's tasks and the life of soldiers.

On behalf of the participants in the meeting Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo and minister of national defence, expressed deep satisfaction with the resolutions of the November plenums of the CC of the BCP and the selfless support of the political course of democracy of society and the revolutionary renewal of socialism, which over the last few days was expressed as a spontaneous approval by all layers of the Bulgarian people, the soldiers in the Bulgarian National Army included.

Mr Petur Mladenov, after thanking on behalf of the party and state leadership for the support, briefed the leading members of the Bulgarian National Army about the immediate political, social and economic tasks, the solution of which will provide the needed prerequisites for development and deepening of the processes of restructuring in this country.

Penalties of Party Members, Groups Rescinded

AU2011140189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] The Bureau of the Central Control-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has

quashed its decision to punish Nikola Popov from Sofia with "strict reprimand with a warning," and Vasil Ivanov from Sofia with "reprimand." Both penalties are unjustified.

The Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission has also quashed the decision of the BCP Sofia City Committee Bureau to disband the primary party organization at the "Political Economy" and "Rhetorics" Departments of the "Social Professions" Faculty of the "Kliment Okhridski" Sofia University. The decision had been adopted in violation of the BCP Statute.

Censure Overturned

AU1811202089 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 18 Nov 89

["Removed Punishments"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—The Board of the Central Control and Revision Commission of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] removes as a baseless charge its resolution for "severe reprimand with final warning" against Nikola Popov, academician, who was elected rector of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia on November 15 this year.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes today that the Sofia City Committee of the BCP removes its decision about the dismissal of the local party organization at the "Political Economy" Department and the party group at the "Rhetoric" Department at the Faculty of "Social Professions" of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia, which breached the Statute of the BCP.

After informing about the removal of the penalty "reprimand" against another party member, the daily recalls that academician Nikola Popov is a distinguished economist, head of the "Political Economy" Department at the university, writer of scores of monographs, studies and books.

Further on Mladenov Meeting With Intellectuals

AU1611114789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 89 p 1

[BTA report: "Dialogue With All Strata of Population"]

[Text] Sofia, 14 November (BTA)—Today Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], met with representatives of the intelligentsia—noted creators and public figures, as well as figures from the fields of science, culture, and arts.

In a sincere conversation Comrade Mladenov presented in a well-argumented manner the party course toward democratization of social life and constructing a modern and law-governed state. He especially stressed the BCP's determination to conduct a dialogue with all strata of the population in the process of constructing the contemporary socialist society. It was pointed out at the meeting that the country's social and intellectual upsurge, corresponding to the present realities and needs, is possible solely along the road of restructuring, whose important characteristics are the freedom of creative search, diversity, and pluralism of opinions.

Those who attended the meeting actively supported the decisions of the BCP Central Committee November Plenum on profound restructuring based on democratization, glasnost, and revolutionary renewal.

The following persons took the floor: Radoy Ralin, Academician Angel Balevski, Mladen Isaev, Diko Fuchedzhiev, Svetlin Rusev, Veselin Andreev, Prof Nikolay Genchev, Stefan Prodev, Petur Beron, Tsvetana Maneva, Academician Kiril Vasilev, Nikolay Iribadzhakov, Georgi Dzhagarov, Prof Yovcho Topalov, Academician Nikola Popov, Prof Atanas Bozhkov, Luchezar Karanlukov, Blaga Dimitrova, Nedyalko Yordanov, Docent Petko Simeonov, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Georgi Mishev, Evstati Burnaski, Mladen Kiselov, Pavel Matev, Nikolay Khaytov, and Iskra Panova. They spoke sincerely, and occasionally sharply and critically, about the complex problems that have accumulated in the economic, social, and cultural spheres. A common position emerged on the necessity of initiative, civic courage, and responsibility in seeking a solution to the urgent issues and achieving broad national unity as a guarantee of the success of the processs of renewal.

The following persons took part in the meeting: Aleksandur Yosifov, Aleksandur Raychev, Aleksandur Fol, Aleksandur Yankov, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Andrey Gulyashki, Angel Balevski, Anton Donchev, Asen Zhablenski, Asen Khadzhiolov, Atanas Bozhkov, Blaga Dimitrova, Valeri Petrov, Venets Dimitrov, Ventsislav Kisyov, Veselin Andreev, Georgi Dzhagarov, Georgi Kostov, Georgi Mishev, Georgi Stoyanov, Georgi Stoilov, Dimitur Buchkov, Diko Fuchedzhiev, Dobrin Spasov, Evstati Bunaski, Ivan Dzhadzhev, Ivan Kyosev, Ivan Iliev, Ivan Milushev, Academician Ivan Todorov, Ivaylo Petrov, Ilcho Dimitrov, Iskra Panova, Yordan Radichkov, Yovcho Topalov, Kiril Apostolov, Kiril Vasilev, Krikor Azaryan, Lalyu Dimitrov, Lazar Lazarov, Luchezar Karanlukov, Lyubomir Pavlov, Lyudmil Staykov, Matey Mateev, Mladen Isaev, Mladen Kiselov, Mikhail Pekov, Nayden Vulchev, Nencho Khranov, Nikolay Genchev, Nikola Popov, Nikolay Iribadzhakov, Nikolay Khaytov, Nedyalko Yordanov, Pavel Matev, Panka Babukova, Petko Simeonov, Petur Anastasov, Petur Beron, Radoslav Radev, Radoy Ralin, Svetlin Rusev, Slav Karaslavov, Stefan Prodev, Stoyan Stoyanov, Toncho Zhechev, Toma Vurbanov, Khristo Ganev, Khristo Kovachev, Khristo Khristov, Tsvetana Maneva, and Tseno Khinkovski.

Intellectuals Comment

AU1611142589 Sofia BTA in English 1338 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO features intellectuals' opinions on the meeting they had with Mr Petur Mladenov.

Mladen Isaev, a poet: "The meeting passed in the spirit of an extremely open discussion on the most painful problems of our society's present and future."

According to the poet all intellectuals representing almost all branches of culture who took the floor at the meeting, every one speaking from his own point of view and formulating his own ideas, were unanimous in their opinion that the command-administrative system of management must be categorically eliminated.

Svetlin Rusev, a painter: "Everybody spoke freely, without any toadyism, with great concern. Suffered, deeply pondered over truths were spoken about. Truths which have been always and on all occasions convenient for those professing them were also told. I believe in those who have suffered their experience and their truths not only for themselves. Let us hope that time will work for their benefit."

Veselin Andreev, a writer, characterized the meeting in two words: joy and hope, and guarantee that joy and hope will come true. He thinks that not high-faluting phrases but sweeping, really revolutionary changes are needed and that the lead must be taken by people who know what to do and who can really do it.

Professor Nikolay Genchev, a historian: "The meeting is an unusual event. The new things are: The gathering in one place of people of different professions and specialties, holding contradicting or diametrically opposed views on the basic problems of contemporary development; the freedom of expression in an atmosphere of a tolerant discussion, the culture of the debates during the exchange of opposing views and opinions without any fear or time-serving; increased activity of thought attacking the roots of the evil, trying to find the herb that will cure it. The most important thing: pluralism."

The publicist Stefan Prodev shared his conviction that the meeting with the new secretary general did much more work that the postponed "bureaucratic" congress of culture would have done. The intelligentsia does not need congresses but confidence, he pointed out. "For the first time I felt that we are trusted."

Tsvetana Maneva, an actress: "The meeting with Petur Mladenov left a strong impression with the fact that in the ideological intercourse the direct traditional forms of elucidating the party policy and the problems of the restructuring were abandoned."

Academician Nikola Popov, an economist: "Holding an open dialogue scientists, cultural figures and artists raised fateful questions which have really gathered head. They tell truths which we have been getting round, passing over in silence or hushing them up for a long time. The CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Plenum of November 10 brought glasnost and pluralism to us...."

Luchezar Karanlukov, a musicologist: "Different views, but all converging in one direction—this was one of the most important dominants at the meeting."

Blaga Dimitrova, a poetess: "The new secretary general immediately showed a new attitude towards yesterday's 'traitors, betrayers and national apostates' as we, the members of the Club for Support of Glasnost and Restructuring, have been publicly stigmatized. His tone was well-meaning. The meeting showed that the atmosphere is clearing up once more. Respect for different views, mutual respect for people's dignity.... This meeting is an undoubted proof of material changes in the spiritual climate."

Evstati Burnaski, a poet: "I think that despite some differences there has never been such an enthusiastic unanimity on the most important problem—the fate of the restructuring, real glasnost, real socialist democracy."

Labor Enthusiasm as Result of CC Plenum

AU1611103889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] In the last few days in Khitovo municipality, Razgrad Oblast, the political and social activity of the population is increasing. This is the report of our correspondent Lyuben Antonov.

[Begin Antonov recording] An unexpected, but fully logical and understandable phenomenon can be observed in recent days in the Khitovo municipality, Razgrad Oblast. Immediately after the election of Comrade Petur Mladenov as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the political and social activity of all strata of the population sharply increased. Almost twice as many people as before started coming to work in all economic units of the municipal economic system. Labor discipline sharply improved everywhere without any supervision and instructions. The people are simply pleased with the change. Their faith in the party has been restored. [End recording]

Mladenov Receives CPSU Member Bazovskiy

AU1711214489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, received Vladimir Bazovskiy, first deputy chairman of the central leadership of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society and member of the CPSU Central Committee. In a friendly conversation they exchanged thoughts on further intensifying friendship between the two peoples.

The meeting was attended by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship All-National Committee and chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Further on Bulgarian-Soviet Economic Session

AU1511210389 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—The most important problems of the development of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union were discussed at the 33rd session of the Bulgaro-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee of Economic and Sci-Technical cooperation which was held here.

Today the leaders of the two sides of the committee, Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, signed the protocol of the 33rd session.

At the session the two sides discussed the preparation for the coordination of the plans of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the 1991-1995 period on the level of central planning bodies, specialized ministries and departments.

Measures were outlined for the extension of direct contacts, cooperation and specialization between economic organizations of the two countries.

The sci-technical cooperation between economic organizations and companies of Bulgaria and the USSR and the joint realization of large-scale projects were pointed out as being a considerable reserve for the advancement of bilateral economic relations.

The order and the stages of the working out of a new economic mechanism of the cooperation between the two countries were specified. Measures for the fulfillment of mutual deliveries in 1989 and for the preparation of the protocol on next year's trade and payments were agreed.

Mladenov Receives Jewish Congress Chairman

AU1511212189 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], today received Mr Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress, who is paying a visit to Bulgaria.

The guest highly appreciated the struggle of the Bulgarian people for rescuing the Bulgarian Jews in the time of the fascist regime in the country.

The two sides discussed the situation in the Middle East. It was underlined that the positive changes in international life and the new political thinking create favorable conditions for the peaceful and just settlement of all questions at issue to the interest of all parties concerned.

Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, also attended the meeting.

During his visit Mr Edgar Bronfman had a meeting with Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs. They exchanged opinions on matters of mutual interest. The guest showed interest in the prospects of Bulgaria's economic development and the reforms implemented in this field, in the CC of the BCP plenum held in November this year and the position of Bulgaria on key international problems.

Mr Lyuben Gotsev informed the guest about the position of the BCP and Bulgaria on these problems, told him about the relations of the country with the West European countries, the USA and Canada, explained Bulgaria's position on the Middle East problem, advised him of her readiness to cooperate with all-European institutions and informed him about her negotiations with EEC and her admission to membership in GATT.

Party, State Greet Nicaragua on Anniversary

AU1411114989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have sent a telegram to Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and president of the Republic of Nicaragua. The telegram conveys most cordial greetings to the heroic Nicaraguan people on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Nicaragua.

The past decade has bound our two peoples together on the basis of the ideals of peace, democracy, and social progress, the telegram states. Today we note with satisfaction the ascending development of the friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaragua, which encompass a wide range of political, economic, and cultural ties, whose enrichment fully corresponds to the interests of the Bulgarian and Nicaraguan peoples.

The telegram expresses good wishes to the friendly Nicaraguan people for successes and creative labor in the peaceful construction of a free and democratic Nicaragua, and for comprehensive progress. Confidence is voiced that the two countries will continue in the future to devotedly work for the further advance of the relations of solidarity, unselfish friendship, and fruitful cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Nicaragua.

Greetings Message Sent to Angolan Party

AU1311112789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the State Council of the People's Republic

of Bulgaria have sent a greetings message to the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]—Labor Party, which addresses most cordial greetings to the friendly Angolan people on the national holiday of the People's Republic of Angola.

We follow with attention and understanding the social transformations, that are taking place in the People's Republic of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA—Labor Party, as well as the Angolan leadership's initiatives to strengthen national unity in the country along the road of peacefully resolving the internal Angolan problems, the message reads.

We highly support your country's contribution to strengthening world peace and resolving other global problems of mankind, as well as its constructive actions aimed at regulating the situation in southern Africa in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking.

We believe that friendly relations between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to strengthen and enrich themselves with new forms of comprehensive cooperation, in the spirit of the treaty on friendship and cooperation and on the basis of mutual benefit, in the interest of our nations, and world peace and progress.

Condolences sent on Death of Spain's Ibarruri

AU1511082989 Sofia BTA in English
2247 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain a cable in which it expresses most deep condolences on the occasion of the demise of the chairman of the Communist Party of Spain Ms Dolores Ibarruri.

Communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the cable reads, will keep in their hearts the bright image of the legendary La Pasionaria, one of the most remarkable symbols of heroism, braveness and of the unbreakable will of the Spanish people for free and democratic development, for social advance.

Delegation Goes to Funeral

AU1511103089 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] A Bulgarian Communist Party delegation led by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev has departed for Madrid. The delegation will take part in the funeral ceremony for Dolores Ibarruri, president of the Spanish Communist Party.

Delegation Returns

AU1811164289 Sofia BTA in English
2334 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—A delegation of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], led by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee, returned from Madrid this evening. They attended the funeral ceremony for Dolores Ibarruri.

The delegation was received by Mr Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain, and by Mr Francisco Palero, member of the party's Central Committee Secretariat. Mr Dimitur Stanishev familiarized them with the decisions of the November 1989 plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP.

The Spanish Communists expressed full understanding and support for the BCP new policy line.

An emphasis was also laid on the shared desire for active diversification of the dialogue and the interaction between the two communist parties.

Greetings Message Sent to Angolan Party

AU1311112789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have sent a greetings message to the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]—Labor Party, which addresses most cordial greetings to the friendly Angolan people on the national holiday of the People's Republic of Angola.

We follow with attention and understanding the social transformations, that are taking place in the People's Republic of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA—Labor Party, as well as the Angolan leadership's initiatives to strengthen national unity in the country along the road of peacefully resolving the internal Angolan problems, the message reads.

We highly support your country's contribution to strengthening world peace and resolving other global problems of mankind, as well as its constructive actions aimed at regulating the situation in southern Africa in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking.

We believe that friendly relations between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to strengthen and enrich themselves with new forms of comprehensive cooperation, in the spirit of the treaty on friendship and cooperation and on the basis of mutual benefit, in the interest of our nations, and world peace and progress.

'Antisocialist' Forces Demonstrate 17 Nov

LD1711192589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] It is exactly 1600, and participants in this year's students' procession, which is taking place on the occasion of International Students Day as well as on the anniversary of the tragic events of 17 November 1939, are at this moment gathering here in the university compound at Albertov in Prague.

[Second unidentified reporter] The students have begun their, as they themselves have said, solemn rally by singing the students' anthem.

[First reporter] The rally has been organized by the city university council together with youth union organizations and nonorganized students. There have also been students and citizens who have misused this mass event for an antisocialist demonstration.

[Second reporter] Our camera then followed the route taken by a section of the procession, which has led to Vysehrad. Here, at approximately 1745, a group of the participants in the procession placed flowers and candles at the tomb of [poet] Karel Hynek Macha, who, on 7 May 1939, when his remains were brought from Litomerice to Prague, became a symbol of Czech patriotism. Afterwards, the several thousand there sang the national anthem, which has brought the official part of the students' procession to mark the 50th anniversary of the events in November of 1939 to an end. A section of those assembled there then left for the center of the capital, where they have attempted to disturb public order.

20,000 Demonstrate in Prague

AU1711202889 Paris AFP in English 1953 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 17 (AFP)—More than 20,000 protesters shouting "Prague rise up!" and demanding the sacking of Communist Party leader Milos Jakes demonstrated here Friday and were in a standoff with security forces.

The protest grew out of an earlier student demonstration against the government in the heart of Prague's university district, according to an AFP reporter present during the rallies.

Demonstrators shouted "Into the rubbish bin with Jakes!" and "Long live Havel!" in reference to dissident playwright Vaclev Havel, one of the founding members of the Charter 77 human rights group.

The initial rally, which organizers said was attended by up to 10,000 people, was authorized by Prague authorities to commemorate the 1939 uprising against the Nazi occupation.

But it rapidly became the largest protest against the government since 1969.

By 1900 GMT, police had still not intervened to break up the demonstration.

The protesters shouted "freedom!," "down with the monopoly of the Czechoslovak communist party," "enough lies" and "stop beating students."

A speaker representing the Communist Party youth organization was jeered earlier when he told the crowd that "the process of renewal has already begun in Czechoslovakia."

But Martin Klima, a spokesman for the independent student's movement which organized the demonstration, was applauded when he said it was time to begin "the battle for freedom."

"Whoever is afraid should stay at home but we must begin," he said.

The initial protest lasted for less than an hour and police were not present. The rally was followed by a march to Prague's Vysherad cemetery, where one of the people killed in the uprising, medical student Jan Opletal, was buried.

"We must not remain silent in the face of violations of truth, repressions ... but instead must renew academic life and social life in general," Mr. Klima said.

Another speaker, Miroslav Katetov, was cheered when he called for dialogue between the government and other social forces in the country.

"We must go forward in a resolute and thoughtful manner," he said.

After a minute of silence to commemorate the victims of the 1939 uprising, the students began chanting other slogans like "free elections," "a new government" and "abolish the Army and the police."

The uprising led to the closure of Czechoslovak universities on November 17, 1939 and to the execution by the Nazi Gestapo police of nine student leaders. Hundreds of people were also subsequently deported to Nazi concentration camps.

Riot Police Use Tear Gas

AU1711204589 Paris AFP in English 2033 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 17 (AFP)—Riot police used teargas and clubs to disperse more than 20,000 protesters in an anti-government demonstration Friday in the heart of Prague. The police, wearing helmets and carrying shields, beat protesters who were gathered near Wenceslas Square. A number of people were arrested, according to an AFP reporter present. The police began charging the crowd shortly after 1930 GMT but by 2000 GMT several thousand protesters were still massed on the avenue leading to the square.

'Abuse' of Student Rally Charged

LD1711231689 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—Some fifteen thousand people took part in students' rally held here Friday [17 November] on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the November 17, 1939 events.

Students in Prague and other places in Czechoslovakia used this opportunity for discussions about the date's bequest, and activation of efforts in pursuing the policy of restructuring and democratisation. Restructuring and democratisation is linked inseparably with active participation of youth and students.

The rally and a follow-up march were abused by a group of persons infamously known from various anti-social demonstrations in the recent period. They shouted slogans defaming the socialist state, constitutional officials and representatives of the party and the government. They proved again their aim to destabilize and disrupt social life. Attempts to abuse the rally were also made by several persons known from the 1968-1969 period for their personal ambitions.

Owing to the fact that the attempts at anti-social demonstrations continued after the end of the rally, security forces had to take measures to ensure peace and order.

Police Confront Demonstrators

LD1711233689

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2100 GMT on 17 November broadcasts two reports by correspondent Evelin Forro about the mass demonstration in Prague. Forro concludes her first report by saying that storm police and workers' militia are in the streets, confronting the demonstrators. In Forro's second report, she says:

"The anticipation did not last long. Police began to strike the demonstrators with rubber truncheons. Two armored vehicles also appeared in the street behind the police cordon. A huge number of people were injured. Even at 2115, the streets resounded with the sirens of ambulance vehicles. On the pavements, in the roads, abandoned shoes, scarves, identity cards, spectacle bits, newspapers, banner handles, broken litter containers, and glass splinters indicate that the white-helmets spared no one. Around 2130, in the side streets military police and workers' militia chased the young people and the peaceful passersby with rubber truncheons. They arrested many people."

Dubcek Arrested, Released

AU1811172489 Paris AFP in English 1149 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Prague, Nov 18 (AFP)—Alexander Dubcek, leader of the aborted 1968 Prague Spring reform movement, was arrested Friday [17 November] during the biggest anti-government demonstration seen in Czechoslovakia for more than 20 years, members of his entourage said Saturday. Mr. Dubcek was held by police and questioned for three hours before being released, they said.

The former Communist Party leader effectively retired from politics following his dismissal in the wake of a Warsaw Pact invasion which crushed his reform movement in August 1968.

Police used brute force to break up the demonstration in which 50,000 people, according to the demonstrators, marched to shouts of "Freedom" and "Prague rise up". Several demonstrators and some members of the foreign press were injured during the police action. Western diplomats on the scene said the demonstration was put down with "unprecedented savagery". Around 100 demonstrators were arrested, the party newspaper RUDE PRAVO reported Saturday, but no official figures on the arrests or injuries were available from the interior ministry.

At the time of his arrest, Mr. Dubcek was travelling towards the Vysherad [spelling as received] cemetery to attend an authorised meeting of students, accompanied by Euro-MP Luigi Colajanni, president of the New European Left group in Strasburg, and friends. Mr. Colajanni was also arrested and later released. The demonstration was called to commemorate the first open revolt against the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939.

Among the journalists injured were four Americans, two of whom received treatment in hospital, diplomatic sources said. Chicago Tribune reporter Paula Buttolini needed 15 stitches for head injuries, the U.S. Embassy said, while an NBC television cameraman was taken for hospital treatment to Frankfurt, West Germany. A British television cameraman was injured after being thrown through a shopfront window, the sources said. The Dutch weekly magazine ELSEVIERS said it would protest to Czechoslovak authorities after its photographer, Ton van der Plas, was violently struck by the Prague police.

Dissident sources said that several members of the Synod of the Evangelical Church of the Brothers of Bohemia, the third largest church in Bohemia and Moravia, were also manhandled by police as they demonstrated peacefully, and that they had protested to Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec. Thirteen other people received treatment for police-inflicted injuries late Friday at the Na Frantisku [spelling as received] hospital in Prague. [passage omitted]

17 Demonstrators, 7 Police Said Hurt

LD1811185289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] A short while ago, CTK issued a report on the disruption of public order during yesterday evening's

demonstration in Prague. The Czechoslovak public has already been informed about yesterday's student gathering in Albertov Street in Prague to mark the 50th anniversary of 17 November 1939, and also about the march which ended with an authorized commemorative ceremony at the Slavin cemetery in Vysehrad at the tomb of Karel Hynek Macha. The end of the ceremony was announced by the organizers. Even while this event was in progress, attempts were made to turn it into an ostentatious demonstration against the socialist social order, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the government. This was fully demonstrated in the further course of events, when the crowd, spurred on by various people, set off for the city center later in the evening. Peace and public order was disrupted, especially on Narodni Trida Street and in the Pernstyn area.

Over a period of more than 50 minutes, security forces repeatedly called upon those taking part in this unauthorized demonstration to disperse and clear the area so that traffic could pass through. Some of the people dispersed in response to these repeated calls. The remainder, numbering about 2,000 people, continued their demonstration and stepped up their aggressive behavior.

Public security forces intervened to restore peace and order. According to information released today by the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior and Environment, 17 people were injured when the demonstrators were forced out of the area. Seven police officers were injured in the operation. Some 143 people were taken to the local police station, 9 of whom were detained on well-founded suspicion that they had committed crimes, and 70 people were detained for minor offenses. Twenty-one people were fined for public order offences.

Support From Abroad Alleged

LD1911180189 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 19 (CTK)—"Information about the deaths of one or even four students in consequence of injuries are false. Referring to the investigation in medical institutions and the ambulance service in Prague I can say that no student suffered a heavy injury. Thirty six people were lightly injured, and ten of them are still hospitalized. Their lives are not endangered", Czech Minister of Health and Social Affairs Jaroslav Prokopec told CTK here today.

In connection with the allegations concerning the death of student Martin Smid from the Prague Charles University Faculty of Mathematics and Physics as a result of heavy injuries he suffered during Friday's demonstration on the 50th anniversary of the November 17, 1939, events, Czech Minister of Education, Youth and Physical Training Jana Synkova said: "These rumours are not based on truth. Martin Smid took part in the rally, was not injured, he is well and will continue his studies on Monday. The dean of the faculty of Mathematics and Physics spoke to him and his parents. Another student of the same name from the same faculty is also in good health. He did not participate in the rally".

Answering a CTK question, the Czech Interior Ministry stated that since Saturday, November 18, an untruthful report broadcast by the Voice of America radio station saying that during the police action on November 17, Martin Smid, student of the Charles University Faculty of Mathematics and Physics was heavily injured and allegedly died of his injuries in a hospital on November 18, has been spreading Prague.

This untruthful information has quickly spread particularly among young people. This is purposeful manipulation and stirring up of emotions and hostile moods.

The statement of the Interior Ministry further said that neither a person named Martin Smid was among the injured participants in the rally, nor any other person of this name died on November 18.

The fact that the event was partly directed from abroad is documented also by the attempts of a group of persons, notorious due to various anti-social activities, to provoke security forces to take action after the end of the official rally. In response to calls upon them to disperse repeated for almost one hour they shouted slogans calling inter alia for resignation of the government and physical liquidation of the communists. And today they strive to spread "reliable" information about victims and stir up social interest.

More Demonstrations 18 Nov; Student Said Killed

AU1811175689 Paris AFP in English 1726 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (AFP)—Some 2,000 students again demonstrated in central Prague Saturday [18 November], accusing the security forces of killing a student leader during a mass demonstration the previous day. Some students spoke of there being as many as four dead.

The authorities have so far not given any figure for the numbers hurt in Friday's demonstration of more than 50,000 people, which was brutally dispersed by the police and army.

"No more massacres," shouted the students at a meeting in Wenceslas Square. The students, many of them from drama school, called for a three-day university strike, a two-hour general strike in the country on November 27 and a strike by theatre actors. They were surrounded by riot police, who called on them to disperse. But the riot police withdrew in the face of student hostility, as the crowd repeatedly chanted: "They killed a man".

Charter 77 Makes Appeal

AU1811181689 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Prague, Nov 18 (AFP)—After the brutal crushing of the biggest anti-government demonstration in Czechoslovakia for more than 20 years, the main opposition group Charter 77 Saturday launched an urgent appeal for help from abroad to move the hardline regime towards dialogue and reform.

Alexander Dubcek, leader of the aborted 1968 Prague Spring reform movement, was among those arrested Friday. He was held by police and questioned three hours before being released, members of his entourage said.

Other witnesses said army paratroopers were used to back up the special riot police brought in to crush the protest, as some 50,000 people marched through the streets of the capital crying "Freedom" and "Prague rise up". It was the first time in recent years the army has been sent in against citizens, and the witnesses said the soldiers were the most "brutal" of the security forces.

The statement by the Charter 77 human rights group charged that the events recalled "Nazi atrocities of 50 years ago" and had "shocked the entire country". It appealed to other countries to "pressure" the Prague regime to accept a "true national dialogue", and called for the resignation of those responsible. While most of eastern Europe was on the path towards reform, the Prague regime had "opened war against its own citizens who were demanding nothing other than to follow the example of their neighbors," Charter 77 said. It warned that the current situation was "shameful and dangerous".

The Italian foreign ministry also denounced the events as in "open contradiction" to pledges made by Prague in signing accords in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). [passage omitted]

Several demonstrators and some members of the foreign press were injured during the police action. Witnesses said the paratroopers were "brutal" and wounded many marchers after cornerning them in doorways along the route. The security forces were backed up by armoured vehicles, witnesses said. [passage omitted]

Two of the small non-communist parties, the Socialist and the People's parties, which are still under the umbrella of the communist-led National Front, sought Saturday to distance themselves from violence. The SVOBODNE SLOVO, daily of the Czechoslovak Socialist party, said such action made "no serious contribution to our democracy". The situation was now "serious" and needed the "broadest national understanding" possible. LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, the People's Party daily, for its part commented positively on what it called the "force of student solidarity" in the march demanding "national dialogue". It said they "offered flowers to the police", but that the security forces had later "cracked down hard".

4 Reported Dead; Actors Strike

LD1811193689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Before reporting on events in Prague over the past 24 hours, I will say that according to unconfirmed reports, there have been four deaths in Prague resulting from brutal police action against demonstrators yesterday. We have obtained information from our northern neighbors that Alexander Dubcek was detained for a brief time and that he was released after interrogation. At his Bratislava telephone number, a strange man's voice says that he cannot hand the telephone over to him, and the telephone of the friend where he usually stays in Prague has gone completely dead. [passage omitted] We have received information from Prague, from the wife of Vaclav Havel, that in protest against the authorities' actions, this evening's performances in all theaters in the Czechoslovak capital are not being staged. The actors are unwilling to perform in Prague's [word indistinct]; they are only reading out statements of protest.

Charter 77 Blamed for Rumors

LD1911185489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] It has to be noted in connection with the alleged death of student Martin Smid that not only in our country, but also in a number of other countries, the dissemination of untrue reports is a crime. This is also well-known by people from Charter 77, namely Petr Uhl, who is the author of the intentially disseminated false reports about the student's death. From this action it is no doubt clear to any person with common sense that people like Petr Uhl, and others like him, do not shy away from anything at all.

Earlier some of them even said that they needed a dead body for further provocations. This is why they hoped last August that there would be a tragedy which could help fan emotions. And because nothing like that happened, the Chartists simply invented a dead body. This is surely news that will make people take to the streets, and this is surely a reason for the confrontation they seek. Those who do not shy away from such lies do not wish for political dialogue, even when they attempt to shroud themselves in a cloak of would-be patriotism. He who does not shy away from such lies strives only to provoke social unrest, and more so because amateur production death announcement notices have been appearing in various parts of Prague—very fast indeed—calling on people to take to the streets, this time for a remembrance ceremony. It is up to every citizen of our society to draw his own conclusions about the truth of

claims by some foreign radios and their contributors from the ranks of the so-called domestic political opposition.

Riot Police Dispatched

LD1811222989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] According to reports, yesterday evening's brutal police attack in Prague resulted in deaths. Evelyn Forro reports on the most recent news:

[Begin Forro recording] Officially, 17 people were injured in yesterday's demonstration, but reports continue in Prague that the police beat 1 person to death. I asked one of the student leaders, who said he could not confirm this, but that he too had been informed that one young person, a Martin Smid, had died. What is known about him is that he was one of the signatories of the appeal: Some Sentences. Several people interrupted to say that there were four deaths—two men and two female students—but nothing certain is known about this.

However, it is a fact that there were strikes in several theaters in Prague. I went to the performance in the ABC theater, together with students, but when the curtain went up one could see that the entire company was sitting on the stage in civilian dress. Miloslav Moravec, the theater's leading artist, stepped forward and announced that together with other theaters, the entire company decided not to perform in protest against the policemen's brutality. The announcement was received with enormous applause. The appeals of the students and then of the artists, in which a general strike was called for the 27th, was read out. It was urged that a government committee be immediately set up to investigate what had happened and that those who had led this shameful police intervention be called to account. The viewers expessed their agreement by standing up and giving sustained applause.

In the afternoon, some 500 people again wanted to demonstrate, but the riot police immediately appeared and the young people went away. Hundreds of flames and candles burned at the Wenceslas statue and on National Boulevard, where the bloodiest events took place yesterday. At 1830, the police extinguished the candles with truncheons and sent everyone away. When the police went away, more candles were lit. The riot police came and again extinguished them. They also tore down the strike appeal and the appeal that 17 November, 1939 and 1989 be remembered.

Riot vehicles rushed up and down the city center; no matter where they go, they are whistled at. A new custom is developing: People are ringing bells in the streets. There still is no news about Alexander Dubcek; all that is known is that he was detained yesterday and released a few hours later. [end recording]

Student's Death Denied

LD1911131189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] As we have already reported, on the evening of 17 November there was a demonstration in Prague, the participants of which shouted antisocialist slogans calling for, among other things, toppling the government and physically liquidating communists.

Western mass media are spreading a report that one of the participants in the demonstration died as a result of his wounds and the ASP [as heard] press agency even reports that four people died. Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth and physical training of the Czech Socialist Republic, addressed this issue with a CTK reporter: after dignified celebrations took place on 17 November at the Vysehrad [Prague quarter], some of the people present at the rally left for the center of the city where disturbances occurred.

In an action taken by the forces of order [police], student Martin Smid from the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics of the Charles University was allegedly seriously wounded here and allegedly succumbed to his wounds.

These rumors are not based on truth. Martin Smid took part in the rally, but he was not wounded, is in good health, and will continue his studies normally. The dean of the Faculty of Mathermatics and Physics of the Charles University spoke with him and his parents. Another student of the same surname from the Faculty of Mathermatics and Physics did not take part in the rally.

We are checking on further information and will return to report on it during future news bulletins.

More Demonstrations Reported 19 Nov

AU1911155889 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Prague, Nov 19 (AFP)—Hundreds of mourners gathered on central Prague's Narodni Avenue on Sunday after the government denied that security forces clubbed and kicked a student to death there during a mass demonstration Friday. Demonstrators set up an improvised altar, covered in candles and flowers, on the sidewalk where Martin Smid, 20, was reportedly killed. Several held lit candles and prayed. Signs held aloft in the crowd read "Brothers, a defenseless student was beaten to death here. Honor his memory."

Police, who removed a similar altar Saturday night, meanwhile patrolled up and down the avenue, sirens blaring. Czechoslovak radio earlier denied that Mr. Smid, a second year mathematics student at Prague's Saint Charles University, was clubbed and kicked to death by security forces. [passage omitted]

However, the dissident news agency VIA, which reported the death Saturday, said Mr. Smid's girlfriend, who asked not to be identified, and a doctor, Jan Paine, had witnessed his death.

University sources said Sunday there were several students of the same name in Prague, although not all were in the same faculty. Smid is a common name in Czechoslovakia and fills an entire page of the Prague phone book.

Dissident sources meanwhile said Mr. Smid's parents and brother had left Sunday for the country "to inform the student's grandparents" of the death. The sources said two policemen told the family Mr. Smid had died accidentally. [passage omitted]

One of the signs at the Narodni Avenue demonstration Sunday read "Jan Opletal, 1939; Martin Smid 1989". Jan Opletal was killed on the same avenue during a student uprising against the Nazis 50 years ago. Friday's demonstration, held on the anniversary of that uprising, was partly to commemorate him and other victims of the Nazis and partly to dramatise calls for an end to Communist rule.

Students meanwhile called for a soccer match, due to start later in the day, to be cancelled because of "the tragic events in Prague". Sparta Prague was due to play Inter Bratislava. Many theatres cancelled performances here Saturday night as the report of the death spread. Actors at the National Theatre said they refused to continue the show there after intermission. [passage omitted]

Smid Obituary 'Provocation'

LD1911143489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to a Ministry of Interior announcement, cases of the amateur production distribution of Martin Smid's obituary notice have occurred, as well as efforts to organize a remembrance act on the occasion of his death.

Therefore, we are urgently calling on all people to dissociate themselves from this report and not to support its distribution. It is an intentional manipulation of the people's minds and a provocation of emotional outbursts and hostility.

The Ministry of Interior's announcement adds that medical aid was given without delay to those wounded; none died. Nobody called Martin Smid is among those wounded, and no person with that name died on 18 November.

This was the announcement of the Ministry of Interior.

10,000 Demonstrate for Slain Student

AU1911163289 Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Prague, Nov 19 (AFP)—Some 10,000 people staged a fresh demonstration here Sunday [19 November] as loudspeakers blared through the streets an official denial that security forces clubbed and kicked a student to death during a mass protest Friday [17 November]. Demonstrators marched from downtown Prague's Narodni Avenue, where Martin Smid is said to have died, to Wenceslas Square, shouting for more freedom and protesting against the killing, eyewitnesses and the dissident news agency VIA said.

As the demonstrators wound through the capital, loudspeakers boomed out an official denial of the alleged death. The denial, made earlier by Education Minister Jana Synkova, was confirmed by the interior and health ministries. [passage omitted]

A statement from the health ministry meanwhile said 36 people were injured in Friday's mass demonstration. Ten remained hospitalized but none had died, it said. An earlier statement put the number of injured at 17. [passage omitted]

Police Ban News Conference

AU1911170389 Paris AFP in English 1645 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Prague, Nov 19 (AFP)—A press conference due to be held Sunday [19 November] by the Czechoslovak human rights group Charter 77 on the reported death of a student from police violence was banned by police. Police in plain clothes and uniform ringed off the apartment of Dana Nemcova, a Charter 77 spokeswoman, where the press conference was due to be staged. "There is no press conference, come back tomorrow", an officer said. Mrs. Nemcova's telephone line was cut.

Earlier, 10,000 people demonstrated in central Prague despite an official denial that Martin Smid had died after being clubbed and kicked by paratroopers at a demonstration on Friday.

Charter 77 had been intending to present to the press the testimony of a girlfriend of Mr. Smid, together with that of a doctor, the independent news agency VIA said. There were still residual doubts in Prague Sunday as to the identity of the student who was said to have been clubbed to death. [passage omitted]

50,000 Call for Free Elections

AU1911182889 Paris AFP in English 1816 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 19 (AFP)—Some 50,000 demonstrators were massed in central Prague Sunday calling for free elections and for the resignation of party leader Milos Jakes. The crowd had gathered in mid-afternoon after the government denied reports from dissident

sources that a student was clubbed and kicked to death by paratroopers during a mass demonstration on Friday.

Leading Dissidents Arrested

AU1911200389 Paris AFP in English 1945 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Prague, Nov 19 (AFP)—Some 50,000 demonstrators were massed in central Prague late Sunday calling for free elections and for the resignation of party leader Milos Jakes. [passage omitted] A number of leading dissident figures were meanwhile reported picked up by police.

Petr Uhl, a leader of the Czechoslovak human rights group Charter 77, was arrested in connection with the anti-government demonstrations, Czechoslovak television said. Mr. Uhl is also one of the organizers of the dissident VIA news agency which reported Mr. Smid's death. [passage omitted]

Several other leading dissidents, including Mr. Uhl's wife Anna Sabatova, Charter 77 spokesman Tomas Hradilek and Jan Shudomel, a leader of the independent pacifist association NMS, had also been arrested, a dissident source said. A student who said she had witnessed Mr. Smid's killing was also among those picked up, the source said.

Mr. Uhl is with the writer and playwright Vaclav Havel one of the most prominent Czechoslovak opposition figures.

Pitra Urges Calm

LD1911225989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2200 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Speech by Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra in Prague on 19 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens! I am turning to you as the premier of the Czech Socialist Republic. Two years ago we embarked on the path toward restructuring and democratization. This is, naturally, not a simple and straightforward process. It is linked with searching, accompanied by discussions and sifting of views and standpoints.

There are a number of views on the character of restructuring processes, their speed, and their method of implementation. It is understandable that the young generation belongs to the most critical judges of our practical steps. It shows natural enthusiasm for the cause of socialist reforms. It is not surprising that it wants to actively take part in the entire process, because its future is at stake. We fully reckon with the youth and invite it into active participation. The restructuring and democratization program, our Czechoslovak path, respecting our own historic and present experiences and also experiences of other socialist countries, is a thorn in the side of some circles at home and abroad. Every opportunity for the organization of destabilization and undermining is good for them, and by this for stifling the starting reforms.

For this purpose they have also misused the situation after Friday's commemorative gathering of Prague students. Our public was informed about what happened. Everyone must be angered by the blatant character of misinformation: that after the intervention of order-enforcement units, one student allegedly died. This proves that organizers of these provocations do not shy from anything, that nothing at all is sacred to them. Even from this, it is quite clear who is who; who is striving for what and why; who has misused students, artists, and others. I state quite responsibly that there is no truth at all in those reports. No other armed units took part during the intervention of order-enforcement units. The false rumors deliberately spread about people dead and seriously injured have regrettably made an impact on many people and influenced their attitudes and stands. They influenced some citizens, in particular artists and young people. The outcome of the tense atmosphere is the announcement by some theaters that they are indefinitely postponing their performances. In their statements, they are calling for protest strikes and other forms of opposition.

It is not by chance that at the time when we are recalling the tragic events of 17 November, 1939 they are appealing, above all, to university students. They are supporting anonymous calls for student strikes and other ill-considered steps.

Esteemed fellow citizens. Each of us knows what roused emotions can do. Our program cannot be chaos, disorder, and upheavals. I appeal to you, my fellow citizens, university students, young people, artists, to all of you. No extreme and ill-judged actions can lead our society forward. The overwhelming majority of our people care about peaceful development. They care about us succeeding in better developing our economy and us being able to better meet the needs of our people and in ensuring that the feeling of security and contentment prevails in each family.

The uneasy tasks ahead of us call for the firm concentration of forces of each of us. They call for creativity, prudence, and civic responsibility.

Artists Call General Strike

LD1911233489 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpt] According to information from Prague Catholic circles, theater artists addressed believers during Sunday morning masses in Prague churches. They announced that all Prague theatres, including the National Theatre, have begun a strike to protest the brutal intervention by security forces during the Friday [17 November] march through Prague organized by students to mark the 50th anniversary of Jan Opletal's funeral.

Above all, the theatrical artists are protesting against the tragic death of 19-year-old student Martin Smid, who was trampled to death during the brutal interventions. They are demanding a government commission be set up to investigate the whole case and punish the culprits. At the end they appealed to believers to take part in a general strike on 27 November from 1200 to 1400. [passage omitted]

Police 'Brutality' Protested 20 Nov

LD2011122889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Fresh news from Prague, in the calm, balanced tones of Evelin Forro. The significance of this description will become apparent.

[Begin Forro recording] The Prague Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party, in an extraordinary session, condemned Friday's police action against peaceful demonstrators. Protests were also expressed by the Czech Pen Club, Prague higher education institutes, theaters, the Evangelical Church, the Czech Fine Arts Association, the Art Forum Cultural Center, and also the recently formed Circle of Independent Intellectuals. According to a report in the Socialist Party paper, not only organizations, but many individuals are turning to the editorial pages to express their decisive protest. The Youth Association City Committee demands that the chief public prosecutor, as well as an independent parliamentary committee, investigate the events. [passage omitted]

The Budapest correspondents of RUDE PRAVO AND PRAVDA accuse a Hungarian radio correspondent of spreading lies, and criticize her for portraying events in a dramatic tone, and misleading listeners.

More misleading information follows. I will tell you what I saw in the city this morning. Hundreds of students are setting off in the direction of Wenceslas Square. They are gathering at a statue, where candles and eternal flames continue to burn. People are reading aloud—outside the Socialist Party headquarters—the list of those who protested the police brutality. The streets are full of posters carrying the calls of the New Democratic Forum, which was formed yesterday. It demands immediate free elections, freedom of the press and of assembly, and also that the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party be wiped from the Constitution. You will obviously watch the television news this evening, and will be able to judge how much you have been misled. [end recording]

Government Calls Emergency Session

LD2011135389 Paris Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] In Czechoslovakia, the government held an extraordinary session yesterday evening [19 November] to discuss the crisis in the country. This was revealed today by Vaclav Havel, the writer, leading Charter-77 activist, and founder of the Civil Forum. He went on to say that most of Prague's universities are on strike and that secondary schools are expected to go on strike next.

RUDE PRAVO Editorial on Demonstrations

LD2011092989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 20 Nov 89

[From the press review]

[Text] Here on Prague radio we are reading from today's RUDE PRAVO editorial entitled "Resolutely Against Provocations".

The editoral recalls the events of the past few days when various groups have been endeavoring with the active support of some Western media to provoke a confrontation with the state authorities, to destabilize the political situation, and to bring about an atmosphere of social unrest in our country. Various commemorative actions are being organized and calls for strikes are being issued. The pretext for this was an untrue report about the alleged death of one or four participants in last Friday's demonstration involving Prague students, which was misused to stage provocative actions in the streets of Prague.

The editorial recalls that the rally and procession of Prague students was to have been a solemn commemoration of the memory of Jan Opletal and other students murdered 50 years ago by the German invaders. The ceremony, however, was misused for other aims. Some special correspondents from the Western media had declared in advance that bloodshed was envisaged, which indicates clearly that this was a prepared attempt to provoke a deliberate provocation.

Although antisocialist slogans were shouted even during the procession, members of the Public Security Service were called in only after a section of the participants in the demonstration entered Prague's inner city streets and endangered public order. The aggressive core of the demonstrators provoked a clash with the forces of order. Scuffles occurred, and there were injured on both sides.

The RUDE PRAVO headline goes on to state that an untrue report about the death of one of the participants in the demonstration begun to circulate. Illegal groups and some Western media begun to spread the rumor around, despite repreated denials by the relevant Czechoslovak quarters.

In such a provoked aggravated climate, new demonstrations began to be organized in the streets of Prague on Saturday and Sunday.

The editorial then goes on to say that our society has been proceeding for the 2d consecutive year along the path of restructuring and democratization. We are tackling a number of accumulated problems. We are endeavoring to bring about fundamental changes in all areas of our society. In this we count on all honest citizens of our

country, both communists and noncommunists, as well as members of other political parties.

RUDE PRAVO then goes on recall the words delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes at the recent national conference of the Socialist Union of Youth, at which he said: We are in favor of a sincere and honest dialogue with all those who want to find solutions on the basis of the Constitution and to combine forces in the interest of the further socialist development of our country.

However, dialogue cannot be conducted anonymously or by way of such street demonstrations, whose aim is to provoke and evoke tension in society, violate public order by various appeals, attack our social system with the help of some Western media, and strive in reality for the abandonment of the socialist path of development under the slogans of democracy.

At this time, today's RUDE PRAVO leader goes on to stress, it is necessary to maintain level-headedness and to condemn provocations whose aim is not to perfect socialism and to improve the life of people but to bring about social chaos.

Commentary Reacts to Teplice Demonstration

AU2011091589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 89 p 2

[Vitezslav Havlicek commentary: "Let Us Learn To Respond Swiftly"]

[Excerpts] Few things are so cherished by all of us as clean air and clean water. The vigorousness of our society's present approach to essential care for the environment was conclusively demonstrated by the October session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee. It is self-evident that not everything which was not duly appreciated in the past can be set right overnight. The federal government has been frank in stating that, in many cases, improving the environment is a question of costly and long-term measures.

In urgent instances, however, it is necessary to deal with the situation without delay, even at the cost of limiting or even halting production. We have already resorted to such measures. [passage omitted]

The residents of the most severely affected localities in North Bohemia undoubtedly welcomed such an energetic approach, even though they realize that what is essential for the current improvement in the environmental situation—which had made their lives so disagreeable—was, above all, a change in the weather.

In their reactions to our Tuesday [14 November] report on the demonstration in Teplice and to the issuance of regulatory measures [in North Bohemia], which have meanwhile been revoked, our readers are asking why the regulation had not been imposed earlier. They point out that the weather forecast, which could be read in the daily press, did not promise any improvement to the unfavorable situation in the foreseeable future.

These questions are justified. The state administration bodies and, in particular, the responsible sections of the national committees concerned will surely respond to them. In Teplice, these questions will evidently be discussed at the meeting on environmental issues scheduled to take place on Monday [20 November]. In other severely affected places, too, national committees should not delay similar open discussions with citizens, which are an effective form of keeping the public informed. As experience from Teplice shows, there can never be enough information on how our aims regarding the improvement of the environment are being translated into deeds.

Pitra Addresses Rally Marking Fascist Era

LD1811033389 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—"We must forget neither the crimes of Fascism nor the heroism of all those who fought against it," Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member Frantisek Pitra told a rally held here today on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the brutal action of German occupiers against Czech universities in 1939.

He stressed that "socialist Czechoslovakia sincerely welcomes the revolutionary changes in international relations, changes that have set in motion new thinking stimulated by historic initiatives of the Soviet Union. An irreversible process is now taking place of transition from confrontation to cooperation, from mistrust to mutual understanding, from stubbornness to mutual search for acceptable compromises. All this creates an important precondition of peaceful life and creative development of our society," the official said stressing that Czechoslovakia ardently supports the idea of a common European home voiced for the first time during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Prague. Through its history, traditions and culture, Czechoslovakia forms an inseparable part of European history, presence and future. Thus, it must also be an active participant in the construction of a European home, Pitra emphasized.

He went on to say: "We are now witnessing a deep and somewhere even distressful process of the renewal of socialism. We are deeply convinced that this rebirth will end in a developing, attractive socialist system fulfiling the democratic and humanistic ideals of socialism and fully satisfying the material and cultural demands of the people. There are naturally differences in the dynamism and reforms, contents and effects of this dramatic process in individual socialist countries, it is an unavoidable result of the contradictions of their former development and their present conditions. This process, which we have started on the initiative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its 17th congress, must also in Czechoslovakia have our own national colours. It bears and must bear the individual seal of our traditions and needs. The essence, however, is the same," the Communist Party official said.

He pointed out that "We are ridding socialism of uniformity, stereotypes and routine. However, we are not giving up the work that has been done and that is our basis for the future."

"We are fully aware of the necessity of reforms and a decisive acceleration of the process of restructuring. However, it is also important to bear in mind the need for good organization. Only then will it be possible to cope with the deep changes now under way without unnecessary social commotion," Pitra said and pointed out that there are many prophets in the world now who would like to present their wish as a reality and view the renewal of socialism as its end. "They forget, however, that the ideas of socialism are deeply anchored in the whole logic of modern history, in the experience and interests of people's masses, in their wish for social justice and better life."

GDR's Krenz To Pay Working Visit 21 Nov

LD1611151389 Prague CTK in English 1426 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz will pay a working visit to Czechoslovakia on November 21, 1989.

The visit will take place at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Czechoslovak president.

RUDE PRAVO Views GDR Developments

AU1711150589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 89 p 6

[Vladimir Plesnik commentary: "Prior to the Extraordinary SED Congress"]

[Text] After 4 days, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee had practically altered its decision: Instead of holding a party conference as originally intended, it announced the convening of an extraordinary congress in mid-December. RUDE PRAVO readers ask me, as the Berlin correspondent, what the reason is for such a dramatic rush of changes. Undoubtedly, the reason is the radicalization of this party's membership base. Comrade Egon Krenz himself emphasized that this step was influenced in a decisive manner by the demands of the party organizations. Rank-and-file communists interpreted the original intention as being insufficient and as not corresponding to the tide of events. Nevertheless, the radicalization of the whole of society is also reflected in the decision to convene a congress.

It proceeds from the published agenda that, apart from specifying the party's role and its status in the future, the congress will set itself the fundamental task of making cadre changes in the supreme party organs.

The SED faces a complex, far-reaching, and painful process accompanied by numerous risks. It was thrown into this process relatively unprepared. The Action Program, which was adopted last week, outlined the fundamental orientation for the party and society. Let us also mention that it is banking on reforming the political system, on fundamentally altering economic policy, and on "general democratization." The extraordinary congress should guarantee, in terms of cadres, the implementation of this action program.

The problems which are now tossing the German Democratic Republic around—and which were dramatically divulged by recent days—did not crop up all at once. In many ways, they are a consequence—let us say it openly—of a certain "ostrich policy" on the part of the former SED leadership. For many years, problems were locked away, hidden, and left unresolved. Development went in another direction and fundamental political decisions simply took place on a different level. Mistakes and shortcomings were ostentatiously overlooked. At the same time, the SED's primary organizations did not close their eyes to the disquieting (and in the past 3 months even alarming) signs. The former leadership did not want to know about their profundity. Thus, the country was plunged into a relatively deep social crisis.

The current leadership is already talking about these issues frankly and, what is more, self-critically. It calls things by their correct names. It is not easy for the leadership to keep abreast of the breakneck tide of events. It does not always manage to do this. It is not concealing the fact that in the social ferment and in the chorus of voices, opinions, and passions there have also been flashes of decidedly antisocialist stances. These cast doubts upon the justification for the GDR's very existence. They make conspicuous attacks on it.

Of course, it is necessary to seek the roots of the present crisis in the fertile soil of home. However, it is also impossible to overlook the fact that forces unfriendly to the German Democratic Republic are dexterously and efficiently making use of all the accumulated difficulties in order to conduct a psychological offensive.

A very important issue that has been talked about, and still is being talked about, everywhere and at all levels in the GDR is the possibility of foreign travel, first and foremost to West Berlin and the FRG. Perhaps we will not be far from the truth when we say that—aside from the other reasons—the GDR citizens' very desire to travel abroad and the restrictions on it, which were considerable, led to the massive wave of emigration. As is known, the GDR Government took an unprecedented step on the issue of GDR citizens traveling to the FRG and West Berlin. Its decision, made last Thursday [9 November], brought with it the obvious risk that the floodgates would be opened for further emigration. Time will tell who was right. In any case, out of the several million people who visited the FRG and West Berlin in recent days, only an inconsequential number decided to remain as emigrants.

No era in social development begins or ends with preparations for a congress. However, it is beyond all doubt that these are stormy days, and even surprising ones, in more than one of the key issues. This involves concentrating forces to prepare fundamental and urgent reforms in the party and society.

Jakes Receives Pact's Lushev, Lobov

LD1611174789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes has received Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, the chief of staff. They discussed, in particular, military security aspects of the international situation.

Fojtik Leaves for USSR Visit

LD1611225189 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 16 (CTK)—Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Fojtik left here Thursday for a friendly working visit to the Soviet Union.

The visit takes place at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Fojtik Interviewed on Visit

LD1711223389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Interview with Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee politburo member Jan Fojtik by unidentified Czech television correspondents in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Comrade Secretary, this afternoon you held talks with Comrade Medvedyev, CPSU Central Committee. What was the content of these talks?

[Fojtik] We discussed the current situation in the world, what is happening around us. We were interested in particular in the influence of these events on Czechoslovakia, on our work. However, we mainly discussed our cooperation in the ideological area. Last year we adopted a long-term program for this cooperation. We had a look at what had been done and what would have to be done in the future. There are a number of new tasks, new problems which are linked to restructuring in the USSR and in our country. We have been clarifying these issues, because we are interested in the reinforcement and development of this cooperation

[Reporter] Did you also discuss events in the GDR?

[Fojtik] We could not, of course, avoid it. We proceeded from the facts which are now generally known, that it is a process, an accelerated process of restructuring of socialism in the GDR, and we believe that the German comrades will cope with the situation, which is not easy or simple. We are convinced that the GDR will remain a socialist state, a state of workers, agricultural workers, and working intelligentsia, and that cooperation between all states of our community and of the GDR will develop.

[Reporter] How do the Soviet comrades view cooperation in the time of glasnost?

[Fojtik] Just like before. Only it must be more intensive, less formal, more specific, to directly discuss problems and not avoid difficult questions, whether with regard to the assessment of the past or the current problems.

[Reporter] Last question. Are you leaving satisfied?

[Fojtik] Yes. I think that the visit has completed its aim.

Further on Visit

LD1711225289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, at the end of his working visit to Moscow, gave an interview to Czechoslovakian correspondents. He said that his talks with Vadim Medvedev primarily concerned ideological cooperation. This cooperation should be more intensive and less formal. It must not avoid any burning issues, whether it is the assessment of past or current problems.

Events in the GDR were also discussed. Both sides assessed them as an accelerated process of the renewal of socialism. They voiced the hope that German comrades will cope with the difficult situation. Comrade Fojtik went on to say that Soviet partners consistently adhere to the principle of noninterference and do not give any advice nor warnings to anyone.

Replying to the question whether our party possesses sufficient authority to prevent Czechoslovakia from getting into a complicated situation such as what has happened in neighboring socialist countries, Comrade Fojtik said that the leadership will only have authority if it succeeds in convincing people about the correctness of its program, which needs to be implemented together with people among whom the feeling of joint responsibility must be generated. The party's task is to prove that its program is the cause of the broad strata of the population, Comrade Fojtik stressed.

Jakes Receives Soviet Official Shalayev

AU1711090389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 89 p 1

[CTK report: "A Reception by M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday [14 November] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, in the presence of Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade

Union Council, received Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the USSR All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, who is participating in the World Federation of Trade Unions session in Prague.

During their cordial talks, M. Jakes acquainted his guest with the course of restructuring political and social life in Czechoslovakia and with the implementation of economic reform. He also spoke about the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. He appraised the standard and advantage of cooperation between both countries' trade unions and expressed his support for the further comprehensive development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

S. Shalayev gave a briefing on the activity of the Soviet trade unions and on their role during restructuring. At the moment, new and significant measures are being adopted in the legislative and social spheres along with measures to improve living and working conditions. The trade unions are playing an important role in asserting these measures.

Both representatives exchanged views on some of the issues concerning development in the international trade union and workers' movements.

Krumnikl Absence at News Conference Explained

LD1711223189 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Interview with CSSR Government Spokesman Miraslav Pavel by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded; Pavel remarks are in Czech]

[Text] [Reporter] Our guest on Television News today is Federal Government press spokesman Miroslav Pavel. May I ask you something? After yesterday's government session there was to be a news conference with Minister Antonin Krumnikl. The comrade minister, however, did not arrive. Why?

[Pavel] I apologized to your colleagues, who came to hear Mr Krumnikl, at the beginning of the news conference. The reason why Mr Krumnikl did not arrive was not because he was afraid of journalists or that he would not want to speak at the news conference. On the contrary, I have the best experience with him in this respect. He did not come because the material which he was presenting to the government and about which he was to report at the news conference was not accepted by the government.

[Reporter] What sort of material was it and why was it not accepted?

[Pavel] The material was on operative measures to reduce the demands of energy on our national economy next year. It was very topical material as the demands on energy in our economy are very high and something must be done speedily about it. Minister Krumnikl presented two possible solutions. In the end a modified, third proposal was adopted, but no government resolution was prepared for that, and all of the material was finally put aside until the resolution is ready.

[Reporter] How often does it happen in the government that a piece of material is postponed or revised?

[Pavel] It does not happen often, but, naturally, from time to time one of the ministers is not successful. This is logical because the government is an assembly of people of which each is responsible for his sector. Naturally, their views on various things are different and those things are discussed often with a lot of controversy; and sometimes a common solution is not found. Something else was, however, typical of yesterday's government session. There was a larger number of documents: all in all eleven and five of them were partially unsuccessful.

[Reporter] May we speak about the work of the government behind the scenes? How does a discussion like this usually end? Is there a vote?

[Pavel] I must admit that during the entire time I have been in my office, yesterday was the first time that I experienced a situation in which there was a vote in the case of one document. Material is usually accepted or rejected.

[Reporter] What was the vote on yesterday?

[Pavel] The vote was on the draft of the government's decree on canteens. This is perhaps a side issue because yesterday, for example, on the agenda for the session there also appeared the government's bill for the program of restoration of economic balance, which naturally cannot be compared to the aforementioned document. Yet it is very important for us all who eat in canteens.

[Reporter] When there was a vote there must have been two viewpoints. What were they?

[Pavel] There was a controversy about the issue as to whether enterprises should have the option to cover the cost of raw materials in their canteens from their funds of cultural and social needs or whether they should pay for them only partially.

[Reporter] Which viewpoint won at the end?

[Pavel] At the end a decision as made that enterprises should have the option to pay for this cost only partially or fully—which was naturally supported by the trade union representative, Comrade Neubert, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, who was also present at the government session. This variant was put aside as being questionable from an economic standpoint.

[Reporter] Naturally, I have to ask on behalf of our viewers why the winning view won?

[Pavel] Naturally there were a number of reasons, but I would like to emphasize that this decision is not final

because it will be discussed again. This decision does not depend on the government alone but must be discussed with the Central Council of Trade Unions. If their views were very different, it must be discussed again and a compromise should be found.

Adamec Congratulates GDR's Modrow

LD1411225889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec has sent a telegram of congratulations to Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on his election to the post.

Adamec Meets Human Rights Advocates

LD1011214189 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec met here today with the leadership of the committee of the Czechoslovak public for human rights and humanitarian cooperation, headed by its chairman, Professor Zdenek Dienstbier.

The two sides exchanged views on the observance of human rights in Czechoslovakia, their embodiment in the legal order at present and the need for changes in this sphere, and discussed a number of concrete examples of incorrect procedures of various state bodies.

At the close of the meeting, Ladislav Adamec took over draft principles of two bills on the freedom of association and assembly, worked up by the committee. He thanked for this initiative and strressed that the Czechoslovak Government is seriously interested in further cooperation, mainly as regards the elaboration of the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic.

In an interview to Czechoslovak mass media after the meeting, Zdenek Dienstbier stressed the importance of the committee's function as initiator. It analyses Czechoslovak laws in view of the date of their origin and of international pledges adopted by Czechoslovakia.

"We would like to become representatives of the Czechoslovak public by means of direct information which is made possible by the structure of the committee and its sections. This is necessary for further dialogue and for further support for the whole process of restructuring and democratization. Our committee would like to follow up all that is positive in the democratic history of the Czechoslovak people", Zdenek Dienstiber said.

Ladislav Adamec stressed the importance to inform the committee of the government's legislative work and acquaint it with government bills on which its members will assume their stands. The legislative activity of the government is very intensive. Since October 1988, it has submitted 29 bills and amendments to the parliament and next year is to submit another nine.

The meeting was useful and will contribute to bilateral and specific information and extension of mutual cooperation. "The government is decided to negotiate with people openly. One of the conditions of openness is that people know all government's decisions and whether they bring what they were supposed to. For the government, this approach means contol whether its work is useful", Ladislav Adamec emphasized.

Zavadil Speaks to Miners on New Strike Law

AU1011095989 Prague PRACE in Czech 8 Nov 89 p 2

[Report on speech by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, at a miners' aktiv in Most on 7 November: "Initiative Is an Element of Restructuring"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The mining profession has long-term prospects. This was, is, and will be heroic and honorable work. However, it is a different matter to strive more than ever before for maximum efficiency in mining, to reduce costs, and to see to it that we make the most effective use possible of brown and bituminous coal. It is well known that our economy endures high energy demands. In comparison with other developed states, we have high energy consumption. Therefore, structural changes are also essential, including determining a coal consumption forecast. Our long-term aims in this sphere have, in essence, already been worked out.

Structural changes are one of the conditions vital for fundamental transitions in the economy. Undoubtedly their implementation will make a nationwide contribution. Nevertheless, the expected changes will affect many working collectives as well as individuals and their families. Therefore, trade union organs and organizations must attend to the social aspects of this matter, as in the present case of the uranium industry, where production is being wound down. All social issues are being seriously considered with the active participation of the central committees of individual trade unions and the Central Trade Union Council [URO].

M. Zavadil also spoke about a decision made by the URO Presidium which has agreed that a group of deputies—Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] functionaries—should submit a draft initiative to the Federal Assembly on the adoption of a law for resolving collective working disputes. Among other things, the proposal could cause some misgivings, he said, about why we are allowing for the possibility of strikes under socialism. It is necessary to say that today's legal code does not prohibit strikes, but neither does it qualify them according to any specific legal norm.

The proposed law gives the working class and the rest of the labor force a new opportunity to defend and assert their legitimate interests and demands. But, at the same time, we must see that every strike means—by its consequences—concrete losses for the individual, for working collectives, and for the whole of society. It is an

extreme way of dealing with collective working disputes, used only when all other forms of resolving them have proved ineffective. This involves the trade unions taking an active influence in resolving working problems and in reacting to them on time. We believe that this proposal will substantially increase demands on the activity and responsibility of trade union organizations.

The URO chairman also said that the trade unions support the decision made by the Federal Government and other organs to thoroughly and resolutely protect our public and consumers from the activity of some so-called foreign tourists who, under the pretext of making a tourist excursion, buy, with patently speculative intentions, unreasonable quantities of goods in our shops. We are convinced that this will be fully understood by our true and sincere friends from neighboring countries, who visit our country in order to get to know us, to see friends, to visit partner collectives, and to rest. These friends are and always will be warmly welcomed.

In another part of his speech, M. Zavadil spoke about the demands and complexities of the time in which we are living. However, we must not permit the opinion to be foisted upon us that we have only problems and difficulties. The West is now trying to prove that the communist era has come to an end. This is not a new prediction: The bourgeoisie has been saying this since the victory of the October Revolution in 1917. However, by means of restructuring and renewal, socialism will prove its historical superiority and responsibility. This involves everyone fulfilling his tasks responsibly and with initiative in his own place—in the working collective and in the central organ. We must place high demands on managerial workers and on functionaries. The higher the economic or political post, the greater the responsibility. This is a fundamental truth, according to which we must guide ourselves. We have no right to waste time or to lose the people's trust.

It is vitally important to confront those who want to abuse the situation, to set "those above and those below" against each other, and to create barriers between communists and other working people. I have in mind the activity of those individuals and groups who talk about socialism in an offensive manner and who brandish the term restructuring but who do not participate in creative work themselves. They somehow miss the point that, so far, no one has succeeded in guaranteeing social development without work.

They are attempting to manipulate public opinion with the aid of Western radio stations. They make use of everything—various rumors, lies, and half-truths. Of course, many times they also feed off our shortcomings, inconsistencies, and unnecessary problems, the problems that embitter people's lives. First and foremost, we must wage a struggle against these unfriendly forces by political means, a struggle for the people's minds and a struggle for trust in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's policies. In no way do we seek a starting point for the further development of the national economy and for improving our political system in a retreat from socialist positions and in a denial of our society's socialist development to date. We have no reason to alter our evaluation of February 1948 or of the 1968 events. Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze clearly expressed his opinion on this issue during his recent visit to Poland. [passage omitted]

Klicha Federal Assembly Session Speech Reported

AU1711120189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Nov 89 p 3

[Report on speech by Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army Political Main Administration, at the joint meeting of the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 14 November]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech, Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army] Political Main Administration, said that members of the Army support the course of the Federal Government, its endeavors aimed at restructuring the economic mechanism, social and economic development, as well as the effort to ensure peaceful conditions for the construction of socialism in our country. They also support the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact, based on the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

The reduction of the personnel in CSLA's combat units will be made gradually with the idea of establishing military construction organizations totaling 18,000 troops, which will—beginning 1991—start construction and production activities for the national economy. For example, in accordance with the discussed programs, 7,000 military construction personnel will be deployed in the capital of Prague for the modernization and reconstruction of projects, in the construction of health care facilities and ecology related projects. In the West Bohemian border area, 6,000 personnel will be working on the modernization of buildings in spa resorts and ecology related projects. In Bratislava, some 3,000 construction personnel will be modernizing about 450 housing units and other projects.

In the plans for the CSLA development we proceed from the decision of the State Defense Council in the Ninth 5-Year Plan to reduce defense expenditures by 10 percent, and currently we are busy working on estimates and calculations pertaining to shortening the basic military service to 18 months, a matter that should be approved by the Federal Assembly next year.

This is an important decision, all the more so since this decision is unilateral and has not met with a corresponding reaction of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The final document adopted at the consultation of secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties in Varna last September stresses that the present

international situation provides no reason for an exaggerated optimism, because it remains complex and contradictory. In NATO the doctrine of nuclear deterence and the policy of operating from a position of strength still persist.

It is important to keep in mind some changes concerning our country's military-political situation. The defensive doctrine means that the CSLA is the main force to defend the western border and the whole of our republic. Naturally, we proceed from the joint task of the Warsaw Pact armies; however, we cannot help but see some changes occurring in the countries of our neighbors as well as the gradual changes in the world around us. We are a country and an Army which is in direct contact with NATO, especially with the positions of this organizations ground troops, including the Bundeswehr.

These facts prove that the defense of the socialist fatherland remains one of the most important functions of our state and it remains the affair of all people even today. These are the starting points for the population's paramilitary training, and against the Army's underestimation and against the dissemination of pacifist views and incorrect, and sometimes even hostile, sentiments toward the Army and its soldiers. The strength of the Army lies, above all, in its support by and ties with the people. Our enemies realize this, too.

I would like to say with all responsibility that, for example, the transition from the 2-year to 18-month service is a weighty change which, however, we are capable of resolving. But there also have been other demands. When we add to this the health problems of conscripts and, moreover, the disproportionate demands for various kinds of economic assistance, we are getting into unsolvable situations which could even lead to the disintegration of organized basic service. This is the fundamental question. At present, for example, pressure has been building up on the part of illegal structures and students of the institutes of higher learning for shortening the basic military service for graduates of the military departments of the institutes of higher learning. As it is, it is only 12 months today. We are aware that these pressures result from some measures in the Soviet Union; however, our young people do not realize that the majority of members of the Soviet armed forces undergo a 2-year military training before they begin studying at an institute of higher learning. Members of the Army realize that the coming year will be immensely demanding on them. The demand is to continue the transition from quantity to quality of troops, to quality of their training, and quality of the military hardware. The CSLA is aware of its responsibility for the defense of socialism, for the inviolability and sovereignty of its country, and for the fulfillment of all obligations which arise for us from the membership in the Warsaw Pact organization.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 November on page 3 carries a 450-word report on Klicha's speech, quoting him as having said in connection with the planned reduction of the basic military service from 24 to 18 months that in this context "further demands are being raised, such as increasing the substitute [nahradni] service, alternative [alternativni] service, service at the place of one's residence, and a number of other demands." The RUDE PRAVO report on Klicha's speech, after mentioning that the majority of young people in the USSR undergo a 2-year military training prior to their studies, closes citing him as having said "is, perhaps, the defense of the country, the defense of one's fatherland, an affair of workers and farmers only, and does not fully concern the intelligentsia?"]

Federal Assembly Session Passes New Laws

AU2011103989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Government-Sponsored Draft Laws Approved; The 15th Meeting of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly Ended"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The 15th joint meeting of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly continued in Prague yesterday. On the agenda was the discussion of four government-sponsored draft laws and three international agreements. The session, which was chaired by Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, and other representatives.

The explanatory statement on the Government-sponsored draft law on the CSSR budget system and the rules of management with budgetary funds (the budget rules) was presented by Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance. He said that the need for a new codification of the budget rules arises from the implementation of the principles of the restructuring of national economic management. [passage omitted] The aim of the proposed changes is to increase the influence of the budget instruments on the efficiency of economic and social development and its balance. This is why the functions of the state budgets and of the budgets of national committees—which, together with other economic instruments, will significantly influence economic conduct—are being reinforced. The proposed legislation stresses the principle of a single fiscal and budget policy. The term budget system comprises, along with the state budget of the federation and the state budgets of the republics, the budgets of national committees and the budgets of state special-purpose organizations. However, no special superior institution is being set up. The integrating function will be discharged by the state budget of the federation. Jan Stejskal then pointed out that one of the most serious questions that had to be dealt with in drawing up the draft of the law is the reinforcement of the revenue base of the state budgets of the republics and

of the national committees' budgets. The draft pursues the aim of increasing the independence and responsibility of the republics' budgets and thereby reducing the extent of redistribution by means of the state budget of the federation. It is therefore being proposed that some levies imposed on federally administered organizations—levies on the volume of wages and special compensations—be transferred to the budgets of the republics. The levies on wages from federally administered organizations, for instance, are expected to amount to roughly Kcs43 billion next year. Their transfer to the budgets of the republics would mean a reinforcement of the revenues of the budget of the Czech Socialist Republic by more than Kcs32 billion and of the budget of the Slovak Socialist Republic by Kcs10.3 billion. It is also being proposed that the republics receive some of the proceeds from the turnover tax. In view of the fact that the turnover tax is being collected during the transfer of consumer goods from production to domestic trade, regardless of whether these goods are actually sold, we have opted for a solution whereby the republics will be provided with a certain proportion, fixed in advance, of the nationwide proceeds from this tax. The specific delineation of the share of the budgets of the two republics in proceeds from the turnover tax will be submitted to the next session of the Federal Assembly, in the draft of the state budget of the federation for 1990. [passage omitted]

In the discussion on the draft law, Vitezslava Kluzova, deputy to the Chamber of Nations (Czechoslovak Socialist Party), pointed out that regulations, legislative materials, and decrees are all being issued with considerable delay. [passage omitted] Most of them will not be available before the end of this year, which complicates the work of enterprises in drafting their plans for 1990. Even such crucial laws as those concerning levies to be surrendered to the state budget and the income tax will be discussed only in mid- December. [passage omitted]

Deputies to both chambers of the Federal Assembly then approved the government-sponsored draft law on the CSSR budget system and the rules governing the management of budgetary funds.

The explanatory statement on the government-sponsored draft law on the Czechoslovak State Bank was presented by Svatopluk Potac, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, on behalf of the CSSR Government. The current legal status of the Czechoslovak State Bank as an issuing, credit, and accounting institution all in one conformed to the conditions of centrally planned management, he stressed. On the other hand, it did not provide it fully with the possibility of exercising duties that usually belong to the central bank of a state. The draft now being submitted changes this in principle. The activity of the Czechoslovak State Bank will focus on three main areas—monetary-issuing activity; foreign exchange-currency activity, including exchange rate issues; and the control of money in circulation. The strategic target of opening the Czechoslovak economy to the world and its demanding conditions and criteria by means of the utilization of all rational and modern forms of economic, scientific-technical, manufacturing, and trade cooperation finds its expression in the draft in the responsibility of the Czechoslovak State Bank for foreign exchange policy. It will be responsible for the development of the balance of payments, the exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna, and the state and structure of foreign exchange assets and liabilities, indebtedness, and foreign exchange reserves. The law foresees that the Czechoslovak State Bank will discharge its functions and duties in the national economy by means of monetary instruments, by its monetary policy and its rules for the liquidity of banks and monetary institutions within the framework of the monetary mechanism and the monetary plan. [passage omitted] The approval of the draft law will have as its consequence the founding of two new banks and the expansion of the activity of the Investment Bank. Effective 1 January 1990, the banking system in Czechoslovakia will thus be made up of the Czechoslovak State Bank as the central bank of the state; Commercial Bank Prague and General Credit Bank Bratislava as new commercial banks; The Investment Bank, whose functions and activities will be significantly expanded to include the financing of, and long-term credits for, investment projects; as well as the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank and the Zivnostenska Bank, both of which have been in operation already. In addition to banks, savings banks will continue to operate—the Czech State Savings Bank and the Slovak State Savings Banks.

Deputy Jiri Bezecky (Czechoslovak Socialist Party), who acted as joint reporter for People's Chamber committees, drew attention to the fact that, under the new law, the Czechoslovak State Bank will cease to operate as a bank for enterprises from 1 January next year and will become a monetary institution for commercial and savings banks. It will be authorized to found them and to engage in other activities arising from the foreign exchange and other laws. The reporter also mentioned some problems which the law on the Czechoslovak State Bank and the follow-up laws have not managed to settle: In the CSSR Federal Assembly committees and in the working commission set up to consider the law, there were frequent discussions about the issue of to whom the Czechoslovak State Bank is to be subordinated. The proposal to subordinate it to parliament, according to the example of other states with a stable currency, was turned down because the Federal Assembly does not avail itself of the necessary control bodies. The Czechoslovak State Bank thus remains in a certain relationship of subordination to the Federal Government, with all the risks arising from this for the stability of our currency. The level of levies which the state bank should surrender to the state budget has also remained unclarified. In this context the deputy pointed out that the Czechoslovak State Bank's potential endeavor to maximize profits could conflict with its mission to control and stabilize the currency and could also lead to the misuse of its status of supraordination to commercial banks and savings banks. Social assistance to the population in the

form of low-interest credits for cooperative and individual housing construction also remains unclarified. [passage omitted]

The deputies approved the Government-sponsored draft law on the Czechoslovak State Bank.

Next, the joint meeting of both chambers of the Federal Assembly discussed the Government-sponsored draft law on the Legal Gazette, the explanatory statement on which was presented by CSSR Minister [without portfolio] Marian Calfa. He stressed that the drafting of this law was preceded by an analysis of the development of the legal order, which revealed some long-term negative tendencies affecting its composition. The primary aim of the new law is to enforce an effective conceptual solution and reduce the number of registered legal provisions. This is why the draft lays down rather rigid conditions, under which it is possible to issue a registered legal provision. [passage omitted]

The two chambers then approved the law. It will go into force on 1 January 1990.

The next part of the meeting was chaired by Vladimir Vedra, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

In the introductory statement on the government-sponsored draft law on the protection of rights to new crop varieties and animal breeds, Minister Marian Calfa referred to the main aims of this piece of legislation. These include, above all, the endeavor to contribute to the further development of Czechoslovak plant and animal breeding and to an improvement in the genetic stock and, thereby, to an improvement of agricultural production at large. [passage omitted] At the same time the law will guarantee the protection of foreign breeders so that they need not fear that their commercial rights might be violated by the use of their latest varieties in Czechoslovakia. This will increase the international exchange of varieties and result in the reciprocal protection of Czechoslovak varieties abroad. It will also make it possible for the CSSR to become involved in the activity of the International Union for the Protection of New Crop Varieties. [passage omitted]

In the debate Jana Vesela, deputy to the Chamber of Nations (Czechoslovak People's Party), said that 55 Czechoslovak varieties of the main agricultural crops are licensed abroad, 36 of them in nonsocialist states, which testifies to their quality. In CEMA states, Czechoslovak varieties were grown on more than 1.5 million hectares last year. Czechoslovak pea varieties, for example, are grown on 80 percent of all the area under peas in Austria, on 50 percent of the area in Denmark, and on 19 percent of the area in England.

The deputies to the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations approved the Government-sponsored draft law on the protection of rights to new crop varieties and animal breeds.

All four laws which the Federal Assembly passed at its session yesterday will go into effect on 1 January 1990.

In the next part of the meeting, Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, explained to the deputies of both chambers the Treaty Between the CSSR and the GDR on Legal Assistance in Civil, Family, and Criminal Matters, which was signed in Berlin on 18 April 1989. He said that the new treaty is an expression of the implementation of the Czechoslovak Government's policy of reinforcing relations and developing comprehensive cooperation with socialist states. The GDR, with which we are linked, apart from bilateral relations, also by membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, is now going through a complicated internal political development. As was stated at the session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, the aim of the processes of socialist renewal and political and economic reforms is to provide socialism with a new dynamism. In view of ominous historical events, particularly during World War II, Czechoslovakia attributes extraordinary importance to the existence of a friendly socialist state on German soil. The GDR plays an important role in securing a stable and peaceful development on our continent. The economic sphere, too, is of great importance for relations between the CSSR and the GDR. The expansion of contacts between citizens of the CSSR and the GDR places increased demands on the legal systems of the two countries. The submitted treaty deals with essential general questions, fixes the norms for dealing with civil and family matters, and lays down the conditions for the recognition and execution of decisions and cooperation in the sphere of the criminal law, Minister Johanes said. It also regulates some new areas of legal relations, such as alimony obligations of divorced couples. The penal code part of the treaty enshrines the principle of extradition. [passage omitted]

The deputies approved the Treaty Between the CSSR and the GDR on Legal Assistance in Civil, Family, and Criminal Matters.

The Treaty Between the CSSR and the Hungarian Republic on Legal Assistance and Legal Relations in Civil, Family, and Criminal Matters was introduced by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs.

Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations are founded on a broad and long- term basis, which the submitted treaty should further strengthen. Some recent unilateral steps of the Hungarian side do not contribute, however, to the efforts at a further comprehensive development of relations. Replying to yesterday's question of Deputy Anton Hlavac, the minister then said that at the end of October the National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic authorized the Hungarian Government to start talks on changing the Treaty on the Construction and Operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros System of Hydropower Projects in the sense that the construction of the Nagymaros section will be abandoned. By doing so it practically rejected the appeal of the CSSR Federal Assembly to the representative bodies of both countries to support

the successful completion of the joint project. Our government is prepared to conclude an agreement on ecological and other guarantees regarding the operation of the Gabcikovo section, provided that it is built in accordance with the original treaty. For us, too, an optimal solution to ecological issues is of principal significance. However, in the negotiations so far the Hungarian side has not put forward any new arguments which would require a change to the 1977 treaty. In the event of the failure of the Hungarian Republic to dam the Danube at Dunakiliti—so that the Danube water can be diverted to the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant—we will have no other choice but to take up the implementation of an alternative technical solution on Czechoslovak territory, to prevent us from sustaining further damage.

We will self-evidently insist on being compensated for all damage which we will sustain by the nonfulfillment of valid contractual obligations. These obligations cannot be canceled by a unilateral decision. Our further specific course of action in this matter will be discussed by the Federal Government in late November. Speaking about the new treaty on legal assistance and legal relations in civil, family, and criminal matters, Minister Johanes said that the breadth and standard of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Hungary are also reflected in the development of contacts among citizens. This makes it necessary for the legal regulation of these issues to be at the requisite level, including effective cooperation between the appropriate bodies of the two states. In conclusion he stressed that the document being submitted is one of our best and most complete treaties on legal assistance.

Deputy Judita Galova, who acted as joint reporter for People's Chamber committees, drew attention to the fact that Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations have started to become more complicated recently as a result of some different approaches in the economic and political spheres and that it is therefore essential to devote greater attention to them and to tackle problems with patience. [passage omitted]

Replying to a question from Jan Risko, deputy to the Chamber of Nations, about the form in which Czechoslovakia will demand compensation for the withdrawal of the Hungarian side from the treaty on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects on the Danube, and who will determine the level of this compensation, Bohumil Urban, first CSSR deputy premier, underlined that Czechoslovakia will defend its positions. Our calculation of damage is clear and we will insist on compensation. Should the CSSR and the Hungarian Republic fail to reach an agreement between each other, each side has the right to assert its claims with the appropriate court, to the ruling of which it must yield. [passage omitted]

Both chambers voiced their approval of the Treaty Between the CSSR and the Hungarian Republic on Legal Assistance and Legal Relations in Civil, Family, and Criminal Matters. One deputy abstained.

The Treaty Between the CSSR and the SFRY on the Mutual Extradition of Persons Sentenced to Serve a Prison Term was signed in Prague in May 1989, said Jaromir Johanes in his explanatory statement on the next international document. At the outset he assessed bilateral relations, stressing that relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have a long tradition. In spite of a generally favorable development, in recent years we have not succeeded in further expanding economic contacts. A limiting factor is the lack of our manufacturers' ability to come to terms with the growing exactingness of the Yugoslav market. [passage omitted] Jaromir Johanes also referred to the substantial decline in the number of Czechoslovak tourists visiting Yugoslavia. In 1985 almost 900,000 Czechoslovak citizens traveled to the SFRY, last year only 362,000, and this year, so far, only 365,000. The essence of the submitted treaty, the minister of foreign affairs said, is an article which obliges the two states to ensure the execution of prison terms meted out to their citizens by the other state's courts. [passage omitted]

The deputies of both chambers approved the Treaty Between the CSSR and the SFRY on the Mutual Extradition of Persons Sentenced to Serve a Prison Term.

The Government-sponsored draft recommending to the CSSR Federal Assembly the approval of the Protocol on Struggle Against Acts of Violence at International Airports was explained by Frantisek Podlena, CSSR minister of transportation and communications. The protocol supplements the accord on the suppression of unlawful acts endangering the safety of civil aviation, which was adopted in Montreal on 23 September 1971 and which the CSSR signed on 24 February 1988, also in Montreal. He said that the aim of the document is to establish conditions for perpetrators of acts of violence directed against civil aviation and their accomplices to be always punished or to be extradited to another state for punishment. [passage omitted]

The effectiveness of struggle against the threat which unlawful acts pose to civil aviation and the need to insist on the extradition of hijackers in accordance with international agreements was discussed by Jaroslav Matousek, deputy to the People's Chamber (Czechoslovak Socialist Party). He said that between 1970 and 1978 there were 12 hijackings of Czechoslovak aircraft, while several dozen other attempts were liquidated by bodies of the Federal Ministry of Interior. [passage omitted]

Deputies of both chambers then approved the Protocol on Struggle Against Acts of Violence at International Airports. [passage omitted]

Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, then substantiated the ratification of the UN convention on contracts on international goods purchases and the supplementary protocol to the convention on the statute of limitations in international goods purchases. [passage

omitted] As Jan Sterba confirmed, both contractual documents contribute to an improvement of legal regulations concerning international trade relations and their adoption is in the interest of Czechoslovakia's broader involvement in international trade. [passage omitted]

Blanka Hykova (Czechoslovak Socialist Party), who acted as joint reporter for Chamber of Nations committees, recommended that the Federal Assembly approve the supplementary protocol to the convention on the statute of limitations in international goods purchases, with the proviso that the CSSR will not be bound by provisions of its Article I. [passage omitted]

The deputies approved the ratification of both legal documents, with the proviso that the CSSR will not be bound by Article I of the UN convention and of the supplementary protocol, as proposed by B. Hykova, reporter for the Chamber of Nations. [passage omitted]

At the close of the 15th joint meeting of both chambers the deputies took note of a report on the activity of the CSSR Federal Assembly and the presidiums and committees of its both chambers since 22 June 1989.

Comparison of Adamec Federal Assembly Speech

AU1611141589

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 November on pages 2 and 3 carries the 9,000-word "CSSR Government Report on Fulfilling the Policy Statement," delivered by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, at the 15th joint session of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 14 November. The RUDE PRAVO version has been compared with the Prague Domestic Serive Czech version published in the 15 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, pp. 20 - 29, revealing that the two versions are identical, except for differences in RUDE PRAVO paragraphing and the following variations:

page 20, column two, last paragraph, last sentence reads in RUDE PRAVO: "...enough gas stoves, boilers, and other things." (supplying indistinct word "boilers")

page 22, column two, second paragraph, penultimate sentence reads in RUDE PRAVO: "...this year and 960 million korunas for..." (supplying figure "960" sted "990")

page 26, column two, first paragraph, last sentence reads in RUDE PRAVO: "They stem from demands for independence and..." (confirming queried word "demands")

same page, column two, paragraph three, second sentence reads in RUDE PRAVO: "loss of almost Kcs6.8 billion. These differences..." (supplying figure "6.8" sted "7")

page 27, first column, first paragraph, first sentence reads in RUDE PRAVO: "deputies that all founders, above all in..." (confirming queried word "founders")

Leaders' Appearances for 9-15 Nov

AU1911190889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 10 to 16 November report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Ladislav Adamec, in the presence of Frantisek Hanus, presented the Order of Victorious February to Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier, on the occasion of his 60th birthday in Prague on 9 November. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov 89 p 2)

Josef Haman and Jozef Lenart addressed a meeting of the Central Bohemia regional party organization in Kladno on 9 November. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov 89 p 2)

Ladislav Adamec, Karel Hoffmann, Gustav Husak, Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek attended the first day of the Socialist Youth Union national conference in Prague on 11 November. (MLADA FRONTA 13 Nov 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, Milos Jakes, and Jaromir Johanes received Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress, in Prague on 13 November. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Nov 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan and Jan Fojtik attended and addressed an aktiv of communist college students in Prague on 13 November. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Nov 89 pp 1,2)

Ladislav Adamec, Gustav Husak, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, and Jaromir Johanes were present during the first day of the 15th CSSR Federal Assembly session in Prague on 14 November. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Nov 89 p 1)

Karel Hoffmann and Miroslav Zavadil were present at the opening of the World Federation of Trade Unions general council in Prague on 14 November. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Nov 89 p 1;)

Karel Urbanek, in the presence of Frantisek Pitra, departed Prague for Madrid on 15 November. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Nov 89 p 6)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Miroslav Zavadil, received Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the USSR All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, in Prague on 14 November. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Nov 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, received participants in the World Federation of Trade Unions session in Prague on 15 November. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Nov 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, CSSR president, received Marian Masarik, the new CSSR ambassador to Peru, prior to his departure for his post, in Prague on 9 November. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received Albert Vlasov, the chairman of NOVOSTI Press Agency, in Prague on 9 November. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov 89 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, presented a congratulatory letter to Marie Bobkova, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the occasion of her jubilee in Prague on 14 November. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Nov 89 p 8)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Socialist Republic premier, visited the Slovnaft refinery to inquire about the reasons for the delay in constructing a new cracking unit in Bratislava on 9 November. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, attended and addressed a nationwide aktiv on health care in Prague on 13 November. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Nov 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended and addressed the annual members' meeting of communists in the Praga factory in Prague on 9 November. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended a European regional meeting at the World Federation of Trade Unions session in Prague on 14 November. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Nov 89 p 2)

Frantisek Kincl, CSSR interior minister, attended a national day reception at the Angolan Embassy in Prague on 10 November. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Nov 89 p 2)

People's Chamber Holds Session

NDPD Backs Statement

LD1711175989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1324 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] Chairman Guenter Hartmann stated to the People's Chamber as the first speaker after the lunch break that the people of the GDR had been confirmed in their fresh start by the government statement of the new premier. On behalf of his parliamentary group he approved the government statement and gave an assurance that the members of his party would do everything to guarantee the stabilization of the state and the economy, which is now an urgent necessity.

Guenter Hartmann spoke in favor of a new territorial division of the GDR into states [Laender] and free cities in order to increase citizens' identification with their community.

He described the carrying out of economic reform as the task with the highest priority. It has to be combined with comprehensive freedom of trade, which would be secured by a series of new laws, including laws on trading and tradesmen.

Peasants Party Speaks

LD1711194389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1354 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On behalf of the DBD [Democratic Peasants Party of Germany], Dr Karl-Heinz Werner, speaking in today's debate in the People's Chamber, gave his full support for the government statement made by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow. In a completely new coalition government, the DBD would also assume a great responsibility. His party was firmly resolved to be a constructive and critical partner. One should give the government a chance and start tackling the work.

Today's session of the People's Chamber was not the start of an election campaign, he said, to applause from the deputies. The immediate tasks had to be tackled with circumspection and reflection. Referring to the wealth of tasks which agriculture and environmental protection were facing, he explained a number of important ideas and proposals. Agricultural production should be processed to a higher level and offered to the trade in more attractive form. The LPG's [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] independence should be increased again. The worn-out production equipment and the inadequate supply of technical equipment and spare parts gave rise to great concern. A greater pace was needed in the re-equipping of stables and sheds. Dr Werner said that the villages need better supplies of daily essentials, better services, better medical care, more cultural opportunities, and more room for private and cooperative initiatives. All this would also help to keep youngsters working in agriculture.

He mentioned his concern about the jeopardizing of the environment and overfelling. The unity of ecology and economy was essential.

CDU Supports Statement

LD1711192789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1413 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The CDU [Christian Democratic Union], as a coalition partner, supports the government statement, CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere emphasized before the People's Chamber today. For the first time in the GDR's history, the opportunity had arisen for an equal partnership in shaping society, he stressed during the discussion of the government statement made by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow. This new kind of cooperation had to be respected and protected so that it would never again be lost. Society's awareness of the existing problems was one precondition to solving them. The people on the street had identified these problems, but they could not be solved there. It was not socialism which had ended, Lothar de Maiziere stressed, but its administrative, dictatorial distortions. A pluralistic socialism with opportunities for all had to be created, in which those thinking differently would also be respected.

With regard to the education system, he advocated that a school be created which accepted all pupils so that all pupils would in turn accept the school, considering it part of their home. In this the great experiences of the church youth work should be used for society. The separation of church and state also meant that political organizations, including the Freethinkers' Association, would be allowed to be active in schools.

The CDU chairman called for the territorial restructuring of the GDR under the laender system, a program which would entail a number of economic consequences.

Herger Urges Reform

LD1711175489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Deputy Dr Wolfgang Herger, speaking on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] group in the debate on Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow's government statement, said that liberation from the old ways of thinking and crusty structures is the basis of the peaceful revolution and democratic socialism now coming to the fore. He promised that neither the SED Politburo nor the Central Committee will interfere in government work. The government is answerable only to the people, its highest representative body, the People's Chamber, and nobody else.

Herger affirmed that the SED is in favor of the most radical reforms if they advance socialism. All the reforms are aimed at socialism as outlined by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Therefore the SED is leaving behind all deformations, and the extraordinary party congress is taking a course toward the party's renewal. Herger particularly rejected the idea that the admission of serious

mistakes by the SED leadership has to go hand in hand with the general condemnation of party members. Rather, especially from this platform, the thanks of the Central Committee is due to members for their steadfast work right now.

Dr Herger put forward a number of proposals for fundamental changes and for amendments to the Constitution. Citizens of social movements should also sit on a commission still to be set up. The draft constitution should be publicly debated. The speaker also called for an urgent program as part of the economic reform that should not permit a departure from basic values of socialism such as public ownership, social security, performances principle, and production according to requirements. The economic reform should clear unnecessary planning, but in the final analysis, not amount to the abolition of planning. Within the reform of the political system and the democratization of society, movements such as New Forum also have their place. The SED is open to all cooperation.

Dr Wolfgang Herger called for order and security favoring everybody under all conditions. The new office for national security is also serving this objective. The new understanding of state security includes tasks such as investigating plans that jeopardize peace or protection from neo-fascist and anti-Semitic activities. Renewal in the GDR does not question military alliance commitments. As part of the reform of the military sector, Herger said, parades serving military self-glorification, should no longer take place. He expressed his thanks to the People's Police, border troops, and customs officers who currently make possible the exit and entry of citizens in a circumspect and friendly manner and ensure that the GDR state border remains inviolable.

FDGB Supports Reform

LD1711181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] seeks to cooperate with the government in shaping future society, deputy Dr Fritz Roesel said in Berlin today in the People's Chamber debate on the government statement by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow. The new government has taken over many uncovered checks from its predecessor. The country's trade unionist are prepared to help overcome the results of the past. This requires, first and foremost, hard work.

Roesel called for a new partnership between enterprise management and the FDGB. The present command economy has impeded many initiatives, but at the same time matters that have proved themselves with regard to social security have to be preserved. This is part of socialism's image today. However, one should also be prepared for social rigors.

On behalf of his group, the speaker expressed displeasure about the sluggish measures in protecting consumers from speculation and in protecting the currency.

Modrow Statement Confirmed

LD1711174389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1733 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text) Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber unanimously confirmed Council of Ministers' Chairman Dr Hans Modrow's government statement. With this resolution, the session ended this evening at about 1830. It will continue tomorrow.

Further on Statement

LD1711181389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1741 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 12th People's Chamber session ended its first day of deliberations at around 1830. The deputies ended by unanimously approving the government statement by Council of Ministers Chairman Hans Modrow. The session will continue Saturday at 0900.

The president of the People's Chamber assured that all pointers and suggestions, criticisms, and proposals sent to the highest electoral body since the last session would be compiled and passed on to the responsible bodies of the People's Chamber as well as being taken into account in their work.

Session Reopens

LD1811084189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0801 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 12th session of the People's Chamber today continues its deliberations in Berlin. On the agenda for the 2d day of deliberations are the election and swearing in of the new coalition government, whose members Prime Minister Hans Modrow proposed to the deputies of the supreme elected body yesterday. Also planned are a resolution on the composition of the ad hoc committee to examine cases of abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other violations of the law; resolutions on the formation of commissions to reformulate the rules of the People's Chamber, to supplement and amend the Constitution, and to work out a new electoral law; as well as a report by the attorney general on the examination of infringements of the law [passage omitted]

Modrow Government Elected

LD1811083689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0807 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new government under Prime Minister Hans Modrow was elected today by the People's Chamber with five opposing votes and six abstentions. The 28-member cabinet includes, apart from the government chief, 16 Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politicians, 4 from the Liberal Democratic Party, 3 from the Christian Democratic Union, and 2 each from the National Democratic Party and the German Peasants Party.

Election Commission Formed

LD1811105789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0846 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At its 12th session in Berlin today the People's Chamber appointed a temporary commission to draft a new GDR electoral law. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Constitution Studied

LD1811105289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0843 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 12th session of the People's Chamber in Berlin today endorsed the establishment of a commission to consider and implement the changes and additions to the GDR Constitution. People's Chamber President Maleuda announced that views and proposals have been submitted by all parliamentary groups and many organizations and citizens of the country. They will all be passed on to the commission.

Corruption Probed

LD1811104989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0839 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber today adopted a resolution on the composition of an ad hoc committee of the supreme elected body to examine cases of abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other acts in which there is suspicion of violations of the law. Dr Guenter Maleuda, president of the People's Chamber, read a statement on this on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Chamber.

This says that the People's Chamber, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the executives of parties and mass organizations have received letters over the past few days in which wives and children state that they are being publically prejudged due to accusations against their husbands and fathers, although such accusations have neither been investigated nor proven. The Presidium and deputies of the People's Chamber support the view that such accusations against entire families, especially before thorough investigations have been carried out, are not reconcilable with justice and morality. It is not permissible that mayors, the chairmen of local government, and other officials who have loyally served the GDR for decades be defamed and threatened indiscriminately and without conclusive evidence. In this context the Presidium and the deputies appealed to the reason and decency of all citizens.

The standing orders of the supreme elected body will be revised. The plenum adopted a resolution in which the Standing Orders Committee is given the task of rewriting them.

Session Ends

LD1811095389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0936 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After 2 days of deliberation the 12th session of the GDR People's Chamber ended in Berlin today at 1030 [0930 GMT].

The last point on the agenda was deputies' questions to Attorney General Wendland on the report he presented. A resolution was then passed that the attorney general should continue his investigations and brief the People's Chamber on the results at the appropriate time.

Krenz Swears in New Modrow-Led Government

LD1811105389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1042 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new GDR Government under Prime Minister Hans Modrow which has been elected by the People's Chamber was today sworn in by head of state Egon Krenz.

Further on Ceremony

LD1811131389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1224 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new GDR Government, elected by the People's Chamber under Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow, was sworn in today under the Constitution by head of state Egon Krezn.

The swearing-in ceremony took place in the Great Hall of the Council of State building in Berlin.

The Council of State chairman congratulated the Council of Ministers chairman and the members of his cabinet on their elections. He wished them great success and luck in governing, in their responsible job serving the interests of the GDR citizens.

In the short address Egon Krenz stessed that this coalition government was something new for the country, "but we agree that it is important and necessary for the fresh start in our country." The crisis in which the GDR found itself must be mastered by everyone's joint will, actions, and hard work. "I am convinced that all members of the Council of Ministers will use their abilities, knowledge, and strength for our GDR and for its secure future to the benefit of citizens," Egon Krenz stated. He said this government will undoubtedly show itself able to cope with the demands of the times and will be a government of action.

Council of Ministers Holds First Session

LD1811153489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1409 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The newly elected GDR Council of Ministers met at noon today, after it had been sworn in. In his office for its first session, Prime Minister Hans

Modrow congratulated the members of the cabinet in their election and gave documents of appointment to them.

It is now their duty to reply with constructive work to the advance of confidence that was given by the People's Chamber, Modrow said. With the government statement a concept has been presented which has good prospects; every minister must derive and establish his action from it.

With the statement a definite response and agreement was found by the people. This group must, above all, be taken into consideration because confidence can be lost very quickly. To preserve confidence, to gain it, and to enlarge it is a very difficult task, Modrow said.

He referred to the fact that other states are also devoting their attention to the government statement. Attention will be paid to the response it finds there. The country faces a very difficult, complex, and contradictory situation. This concerns both problems that have come from the past as well as from the immediate situation. Here he refers to the border situation and the travel regulations. References to this in the People's Chamber, i.e. on speculations, must be taken into consideration by the government with all responsibility.

In their future work it is necessary to pay constant attention to the political atmosphere in the country and to analyze it exactly. [The government] will make itself available for discussion with the population on all decisions, state measures and legislative initiatives. That is already true of the draft travel law to be discussed at the next session this coming Thursday [23 November].

Regarding the new government's method of working, Hans Modrow pointed to the difficulties to be surmounted. "We have experience in extending apparati," he said, "but a government which reduces itself to such an extent and structures itself anew, is a fresh requirement for us." The government must quickly attain a rhythmn of planned work. The cabinet agreed to meet on Thursdays at 0800 [0700 GMT].

Hans Modrow said a high measure of cooperative work lies before the government in the first instance. Renewal must be tackled; included in this is freeing themselves from a surfeit of bureaucracy. Above and beyond this every member of the government must turn his attention to issues of basic work in his area and set priorities. In his understanding of government, this is linked to the need to bring in experts. The current plan of work for the Council of Ministers is adapting to the current situation.

Hans Modrow proposed discussing issues of future work with the chairmen of the bezirk [area] governments on issues of future work after the next cabinet session on 23 November.

New Ministers Answer Questions on Future Policy

LD1811153589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1425 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following the constituent session of the GDR Council of Ministers, Ministers Baumgaertel, Fischer, Halm, Moreth, Nickel, and Reichelt, as well as government spokesman Meyer, answered questions concerning the new government's future policy at an international news conference in Berlin on Saturday. Uta Nickel, minister of finances and prices, and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer were questioned more than others on details of this policy.

Immediate measures are needed for protection of the currency against speculation, said Mrs Nickel. She announced appropriate steps for the coming week. Fischer spoke of the European states having no interest in GDR instability. He confirmed the willingness to develop relations with the EC and with the FRG.

Further on Conference

LD1811164689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after the constituent session of the GDR Council of Ministers today, seven government members answered questions on the future policies of the new cabinet. The interest of the numerous media representatives who had gathered for the government news conference was aimed, above all, at the spheres of finance and prices, the responsibility of Uta Nickel, as well as foreign policy. For this, the old and new specialist minister Oskar Fischer, spoke and answered questions.

Further interlocutors were the ministers Gerhard Baumgaertel (construction and the housing economy), Guenter Halm, (light industry), Peter Moreth (deputy chairman for local state bodies), Hans Reichelt (environmental protection and water economy) and government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer. The latter excused first of all the absence of Premier Hans Modrow, who wanted to personally congratulate his mother in Arnstadt today on her 90th birthday.

During the constituent session Modrow stated that the government received advance confidence which must not be justified with constructive-operative as well as conceptional work. The country and the government were facing a difficult situation that made immediate action necessary in some questions. The next Council of Ministers session takes place next Thursday [23 November].

In accordance with Modrow's request to his cabinet members to commence diligent and speedy work, the ministers present immediately came to the point. They also asked for understanding that they were not yet able, only hours after assuming office, to present ready conceptions. Uta Nickel, however, announced that the first

measures for the protection of the GDR currency against speculation would be introduced next week. In the long term the problem of the mark's convertibility will have to be tackled; this proposal presupposed profitability in industry, international competitiveness of GDR products and, resulting from this, export surpluses.

Considerations on the individual reassessment of subsidies, the minister said, have to go hand in hand with the fundamental attitude according to which, for instance, subsidized rents represent a social achievement which was sacrosanct. To make up the revenue deficit of about 15,000 million marks announced in the government statement required an increase in productivity, a lowering of costs, effective innovation and the most stringent yardsticks against which to measure expenditure. The defense expenditure position would also be included in this.

Foreign Minister Fischer made clear that obviously every state could introduce such cuts unilaterally. However, there would come a point where international ratios would have to be maintained. The GDR had already in the past made unilateral advance concessions. Steps by the other side signalling intent would now be desirable, since the principle of equality in the military area should not be forgotten.

In reply to the question of how he evaluated the reactions abroad to the internal renewal in the GDR, Fischer said he saw concern abroad about the possibility of instability arising in the country. The European states are not interested in any shocks on the continent. This also determines his future policy.

Fischer underlined the GDR's readiness to shape relations with the European Community and referred to the forthcoming talks with the EC commissioner for foreign relations, Frans Andriessen, in Berlin.

He described the announced trip by Egon Krenz to the CSSR as a further introductory visit to a neighboring country, during which there would be no problems to sort out. He could also imagine a visit to Denmark at the state or government level, which would be of significance for the whole European process.

There is a firm intention to have a meeting between Krenz and Kohl. Although there is no agenda yet, all questions concerning relations will certainly be discussed. More information is expected to emerge from the GDR visit by the Chancellery Minister Seiters on Monday. Fischer said the period running up to Christmas is a possible date for the summit meeting.

Environment Minister Reichelt stressed that the cooperation with the FRG in this field is not lagging. By the end of November, the six pilot projects agreed with the FRG had also been arranged with the individual enterprises. Another 11 projects were under negotiation. He would meet with his counterpart Topfer at the beginning of 1990. Other meetings with relevant politicians from Berlin (West) and the FRG land Lower Saxony are imminent.

On the question of cooperation with the FRG in the field of housing and industrial construction, Construction Minister Baumgaertel could as yet give no answer. He must first thoroughly settle into his new job.

Government spokesman Meyer spoke about the sudden change of incumbent in the Education and Youth Ministry, for which the Deputy Wilfried Possner had been originally intended. Modrow agreed to a suggestion from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany group, according to which the present Minister Hans-Heinz Emons possessed the greater competence in this especially complicated field.

The spokesman announced a further government news conference for the coming week.

Emons Replaces Possner in New Government

LD1811085289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0815 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the request of the Council of Ministers chairman, the academic Professor Hans-Heinz Emons was proposed instead of Dr Wilfried Possner for election as minister for education and youth. This request was approved by the deputies. Prof Emons is thereby a member of the newly elected Council of Ministers.

Head of GDR-Soviet Friendship Society Resigns

LD2011124289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1200 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Mueckenberger has announced his immediate resignation as president and member of the Central Executive of the German-Soviet Friendship Society (DSF). Despite his best intentions, he has damaged the cause of friendship with the Soviet Union and underestimated the importance of perestroyka and glasnost for the GDR. He stated this in a letter to the DSF Central Executive, which is discussing the restructuring of the content and form of the society's work in Berlin today.

Mueckenberger gave health reasons as his excuse for not attending the discussions.

The DSF Presidium and Secretariat resigned the same day at the request of DSF Vice President Heinz Kuhrig.

Rector of Karl Marx Party College Sacked

LD1711142889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a meeting of the party aktiv of the Karl Marx party college of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, attended by

Professor Dr Gregor Schirmer, chairman of the commission for Science and Education in the SED politburo, the rector, Professor Kurt Tiedke was recalled from his post. This emerges from a statement from the college which was conveyed to ADN today. It adds that in a very critical debate, in which teachers and students took part, a fundamental renewal of the party college had been demanded. In constructive disputes, ideas and proposals for a future concept of work were developed. Earlier Gregor Schirmer had discussed fundamental tasks of the party in the present and spelled out the challenges faced by the college. Professor Dr Goetz Dieckmann was proposed with a large majority as acting rector until the new formation of the leadership. The Politburo of the SED Central Committee has approved this decision and endorsed him in his function.

Journalists Association Presidium Replaced

LD1711190789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's Journalist Association's [VDJ] Central Executive today resolved to convene an extraordinary VDJ congress on 25-26 January 1990 in Berlin. Congress delegates will be elected by secret ballot within the basic units of the VDJ. The congress is to serve to redetermine the social position and the tasks of the Journalist Association in the process of the democratic renewal of socialism in the GDR. The delegates will elect a new central executive as well as discuss and resolve a new constitution.

The VDJ Central Executive formed a commission to formulate proposals and the constitution, a working group for the legal protection of journalists, a commission for the collaboration of the journalists' association in formulating the media law and a commission to draw up moral-ethical principles for the journalistic profession.

At the beginning of the session the presidium announced its resignation. The Central Executive elected a new presidium of 18 members.

At the end of the session, the VDJ Chairman Eberhard Heinrich called on all members to present new thoughts and further proposals to the commissions and working groups to achieve a greater affectiveness of the Journalist Association in society.

Jarowinskiy on Deputies' Reasons for Resigning

LD1711184989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During a break in the proceedings, Deputy Werner Jarowinsky, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] group in the People's Chamber, spoke to GDR radio about the motion put forward by his group to the plenum for 27 deputies, to date, who had made a personal application to give up their seats.

The reasons for the departure of individual deputies are varied. Some are leaving because they were excluded from or chose to leave the Politburo or the Central Committee in connection with the assessments and resolutions of the 9th and 10th sessions of the SED Central Committee. Each of them—albeit to a varying degree—bears responsibility for the situation that has arisen in the GDR, Werner Jarowinsky said.

Another group is leaving on grounds of age or health.

A further group expressed the wish, in agreement with the SED group, to give up seats.

Army To Separate Command Structure, Party

LD1911132689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1238 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the future the responsibility and the areas of authority of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party organizations and the state leadership bodies will be clearly separated from each other in the National People's Army (NVA) and the GDR border troops, the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the NVA stated yesterday. The decision is based on the SED action program and the government statement. The focal points of the discussion in the Ministry of Defense were questions of the renewal of the political work in the armed forces and in the border troops. SED Politburo member Wolfgang Herger emphasized that the process of reforms in the armed forces demanded the renewal of the SED and the formation of state bodies for state-political education and training.

In a resolution of the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the NVA, a proposal will be made to the SED Central Committee Politburo to immediately cancel the party instruction that determines the tasks of the leading party bodies (political bodies) and organizations and to disband the secretariats of the political bodies. A central initiative committee of the SED will be formed to prepare for the SED party elections in the NVA.

Krenz on Leipzig Demonstrations, People's Chamber

LD1711165789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1321 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—For many prominent GDR politicians, access to the People's Chamber was through a narrow path through representatives of the international media. Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary and GDR Council of State Chairman Egon Krenz was particularly in demand as an interviewee.

In response to a question on his role in preventing violent escalation on the evening of 9 October he said: "I was in Leipzig and stated there that we favor solving political conflicts in a political manner alone. There in Leipzig I helped to solve these matters in this manner. You will note we are carrying out a peaceful revolution.

I am pleased and happy that our people are in such a mood and take to the streets, but that they also do not forget to work. That is the most important thing, as you cannot carry out a revolution without work."

During the People's Chamber session on the formation of a coalition government he would "listen very well to how the debate goes and then consider how we can work still better." Krenz said in response to a comment on the new travel rules in the GDR that it is also work which had prevented him from getting a visa. Apart from that, he is not intending to travel at the moment.

On the role of the SED in the GDR of the future, the general secretary said "The German Communists have passed many tests and I would indeed be a bad general secretary if I did not put strength into the comrades in my party. I only find it unjust that many make blanket judgments. For my comrades, the more than two million members, have worked hard and diligently. The most important thing is that they acted in the firm belief that what has been decided by the party leadership is a good and correct policy. For this reason I say again: It is not the workers, not the farmers, and not the intellectuals who bear the blame for this situation. Our party leadership bears the blame and has accepted it." Erich Honecker, Krenz's predecessor, accepted his personal responsibility. At the moment, his state of health is such that it will remain for the 77- year-old himself to decide when he appears in public with an assessment of his actions.

New Wave of Demonstrations Breaks Out

Students in Berlin

LD1711184389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A large student demonstration, which started this afternoon in Berlin, is now moving through the city center. Taking up the call by the Berlin Kunsthochschule (Art University), thousands of fellow students from universities and GDR colleges and technical institutes are demonstrating for adult responsibility and co-determination for the student bodies. On banners and placards that they have brought with them they are expressing their commitment for a decisive restructuring of the socialist society, which includes a reform of studies.

The route of the demonstrators goes past the Palace of the Republic, the Council of State, and the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee building to the Bebelplatz [bebel square] where a meeting is to take place.

Further on March

LD1711185189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1723 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon many thousands of students from all parts of the GDR demonstrated in Berlin for adult responsibility and co-determination. [passage omitted]

After the demonstration speakers from various student groups spoke during a meeting on Bebelplatz Square. The students from the Berlin Kunsthochschule had invited them for this. [passage omitted]

Today Kai Steinich from the Socialist Student Alliance Initiative gave information about the formation of an Independent Student Council at the Humboldt University. He spoke in favor of a democratic, socialist restructuring and announced the countrywide founding of a student alliance on 23 November. He called for empty living space in Berlin to be seized for students. The economic existence of the students had to be secured even with an expected reduction in subsidies.

New Forum Rally

LD1811132189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] An estimated 50,000 people assembled in the center of Leipzig this morning for a New Forum rally. The participants demanded free elections, the surrender of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's claim to leadership, and the permission for opposition groups to exist. The organizers attribute the relatively low number of participants to the fact that many citizens have traveled to the West.

Krenz Resignation Asked

AU1811140489 Hamburg DPA in German 1330 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (DPA)—At the first officially authorized demonstration of the GDR opposition group, New Forum, in Leipzig on Saturday [18 November], the resignation of State Council Chairman Egon Krenz was demanded, accompanied by the enthusiastic applause of several tens of thousands of people.

New Forum spokesman Jochen Laessig called the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] chief and Honecker's successor an "election defrauder and a friend of the Chinese terror." Others, who are also responsible for the miserable situation in the country, such as Politburo member Guenter Schabowski, have to take the appropriate steps. Schabowski was editor-in-chief of the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND during Honecker's time.

Speaking before the approximately 50,000 people, several participants—including artists, scientists, and representatives of other opposition groups—called for an end to the SED's monopoly on power, free elections, the

admission of New Forum and of the other associations, as well as independent publishing companies and newspapers.

The opposition movements in the GDR are now calling for a referendum on the contentious Section One of the GDR Constitution, which concerns the leading role of the SED in society. "Democracy Now" wants to collect signatures for this purpose by the end of the year.

At the Leipzig demonstration, banners warned against permitting oneself to get "drunk" on the new freedom to travel. If this were to happen the "SED and Stasi [State Security Service]" would just laugh behind the people's backs. Another New Forum representative expressed understanding that the number of participants in the demonstration on this day was not as high as at the traditional—not registered—Monday demonstrations. Many people of Leipzig are "visiting the West" today. They deserve to. [passage omitted]

Again and again the shout "We are the people" emerged from the crowd in Dimitroffplatz. In other choruses, harsh criticism of the SED and its responsible functionaries was voiced.

A representative of "Democratic Awakening" [Demokratischer Aufbruch] voiced harsh criticism of the State Security Service. He spoke of "wasted forces and means" in this connection. Peaceful demonstrations should continue as long as "the sacred cow of the State Security can be found only in history books," he said.

Protests in Several Cities

LD1811203489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1929 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Once again tens of thousands of citizens demonstrated today in several towns throughout the country for a general democratic renewal of life in the GDR. [passage omitted]

In front of the Plauen Town Hall (Karl-Marx-Stadt area) around 10,000 inhabitants from the city and its surrounding areas gathered. They called for, among other things, free elections, and spoke out against the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

Participants in a "Prayer for Our Country" in the Suhl Kreuzkirche [church] and in a protest march from all residential areas of the city, took part in front of the city hall in a rally organized by the citizens' initiative New Forum. In front of about 5,000 people, 12 speakers took the microphone and spoke in favor of a general democratic renewal of life in the GDR, above all for an economic reform, a new media law, and for protection of the environment. [passage omitted]

More than 7,000 citizens in Eberswalde-Finow (Frankfurt area) raised the call for more say in all spheres at a demonstration called by New Forum. On banners and placards it was a question of environmental problems and against the SED's leading role. At the subsequent rally, representatives from parties and citizen movements also spoke, as well as representatives from the evangelical church.

Thousands in Dresden

LD1911110689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1039 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Tens of thousands of citizens demonstrated this morning in the center of Dresden. They called for a consistent implementation of freedom of opinion, media, and assembly on the basis of Articles 27 and 28 of the Constitution. On home-made banners and placards the participants spoke against the SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] claim on leadership and in favor of those to blame for the crisis being called to account. Further demands were for the saving of monuments in their city and were aimed against the export of cultural and art assets.

A rally in front of the Semper Opera House forms the conclusion of this event which was organized by the art trade union in the bezirk [area].

Further on Protests

LD1911113889 Hamburg DPA in German 1036 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Dresden/East Berlin (DPA)—This morning many thousands of people demonstrated in Dresden and East Berlin against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] claim to leadership and for free elections.

Banners carried through the center of Dresden said: "People power forever, SED never;" "For control of the Stasi and police;" "We demand free elections." Many demonstrators strongly criticized Egon Krenz and his leadership team. As in Leipzig yesterday, the word "turncoats" was bandied about the streets. A final rally on the Theater Square is scheduled.

Socialist neighbors were also an important theme in the Elbe city. The latest police action in Prague was strongly criticized. "Solidarity with our beaten neighbors," and "Freedom for Charter 77" was written on banners. A thank-you was also said to the Hungarian reform movement: "Thank you Hungary for 1956 and today."

In East Berlin the State Security Service was strongly criticized. Several thousand people marched through the city center and past government buildings carrying a coffin marked "Stalinism" to its grave. New Forum and actors were behind this demonstration. Distrust of the current GDR leadership was expressed on banners. It said on one banner: "Those who once lied to us cannot lead the dialogue." [passage omitted]

Thousands Rally

LD1911172889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1628 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Tens of thousands of citizens demonstrated in several cities in the GDR on Sunday in favor of the consistent implementation of freedom of speech, the media, and of association. The organizers were artistic and cultural workers who wanted, as did their Berlin colleagues on 4 November, to claim the rights anchored in Articles 27 and 28 of the Constitution.

Some 50,000 citizens responded to the artists' invitation to protest in Dresden. They walked through the center of the city in a procession more than a kilometer long. On banners and placards, the participants rejected the claim to leadership by one party, called for a reckoning with those guilty of the present crisis, and for a complete reform of cultural policy. Other demands related to the saving of monuments in the city, and were directed against the export of cultural goods. [passage omitted]

Some 10,000 citizens gathered in the center of Frankfurt (Oder). There were 19 speakers, including Rolf Henrich, author of the book "THE TUTELARY STATE," which was published in the FRG. The participants demanded the redrafting of Article 1 of the Constitution [which embodies the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's claim to leadership], the immediate release of all political prisoners, permission for free and secret elections, the removal of ideology from the country's education system, and finally, the publication of an independent newspaper in Frankfurt (Oder). Money was collected to pay the expenses of the demonstration; any surplus will be sent to a children's home.

Some 3,000 people demonstrated in Schwedt in favor of freedom of the press, of association, and of speech. They also called for effective environmental measures.

Thousands of people gathered in front of the Karl Marx monument in Karl-Marx-Stadt for a rally. [passage omitted]

Some 2,000 people attended a demonstration in Neustrelitz (Neubrandenburg Area [bezirk], which had been organized by the ensemble of the Friedrich Wolf Theater. The main demands were "For the irreversibility of the change," "Democracy - now or never," and "Free elections."

Ten thousand artists and cultural workers, as well as residents of the Suhl Area [Bezirk], demonstrated in Meiningen for the democratization of society.

More than 20,000 artists and residents took part in the 3-hour rally on Cathedral Square in Erfurt. They demanded art without censorship and patronizing attitudes. [passage omitted] The artists and residents demanded that the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader of the area [bezirk] should be made financially responsible for the waste of M100,000. The money was spent on preparatory work for a Karl Marx monument for Cathedral Square, which had been rejected by the Graphic Artists Association in Erfurt.

In Berlin several thousand people marched through the center of the city, this time mainly at the instigation of the graphic artists. They called for a joint strategy of all alternative democratic movements to bring about democratic redevelopment in the GDR. They laid down their banners and placards on the steps of the People's Chamber.

New Forum Urges Protest Over Peoples' Chamber

LD1911200189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1947 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin-Pankow New Forum gave to ADN on Sunday evening the following statement from its press spokeswoman:

We call upon all the participants in Monday's peace prayers to demonstrate peacefully after the service in favor of the rescinding of the resolution of the Presidium of the People's Chamber to hold the session called for 1 December 1989 in camera.

200,000 Sign New Forum Appeal

LD2011145789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1403 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Some 200,000 people have signed the first appeal by New Forum since its legalization on 8 November. This emerges from a press statement issued to ADN by Klaus Wolfram, Sebastian Pflugbeil, and Michael Goebel of the New Forum citizens' group on Monday.

"We have 3 months in which to discuss the program and the statute in all the grass-roots groups in the country. In mid-December elected commissions will pass drafts for the program and statute to grass-roots groups. On 6 January in Leipzig, at our 3d coordination meeting, we will collate and discuss the proposals for changes and additions to these documents put forward by the grass roots."

After a second discussion phase at grass-roots level, the program and the statute will be decided on at the founding conference of the "New Forum" on 27 January 1990 in Berlin. "We attach great importance to the fact that grass-roots groups elect their spokespeople to the delegates' conference democratically," the press statement says.

Defense Ministry Announces New Crossing Points

LD1611224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2116 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman for the GDR's Defense Ministry has announced the opening of more border crossings with the FRG in the new few days.

From 0600 the Hoetensleben/Schoeningen, Bonese/Schafwedel, Benneckenstein/Hohengeiss, and Mellin/Brome crossing points in the Magedeburg Bezirk [area]; the Mackenrode/Neuxei and Ifta/Ritzmannshausen crossing points in the Erfurt Bezirek; Eishausen/Rodach and Buttlar/Rasdorf crossing points in the Suhl Bezirk and the Neundorf/Nordhalben crossing point in the Gera Bezirk will be opened to cars and pedestrains. The crossing points at Weferlingen/Grasleben and Buehne/Hornburg in the Magdeburg Bezirk as well as at Grosstoepfer/Heldra, Ecklingerode/Dudersadt, Dankmarshausen/Witterhausen, Kirchgardern/Besenhausen and Wahlhausen/Allendorf in the Erfurt Bezirk will only be able to be used by pedestrians.

It is planned to open the crossing points at Melpers/Fladungen, Neuhaus-Schierschnitz/Kronach and Spechtsbrunn/Tettau in the Suhl Bezirk to cars and pedestrians from Friday of next week [24 November].

According to the spokesman, adequate conditions to cross-border travel will be created and justice done to the requirements of reliably protecting the state border with these new crossing points.

On the state border with the FRG there will, therefore, be 55 border- crossing points, so that on average the possibility will exist of crossing the state border by ways laid down in law every 25 km on average. [passage omitted]

Ministry on Foreign Travel by Foreigners

LD1611175989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Interior Ministry's Press Office has pointed out that travel abroad by foreigners with either permanent residence, or long-term permission to stay in the GDR, can only be made with with the passports of their native countries and, where required, visas issued in them.

Foreigners, who are not in possession of their national passports and who only have a provisional GDR identity card, cannot use this to cross borders.

New Travel Rules to Third Countries via CSSR

LD1611193789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The acting spokesman for the GDR's Foreign Ministry, Dr Denis Ruh, stated to ADN that the following has been agreed with the bodies responsible in the CSSR on travel by GDR citizens to third countries via the CSSR:

—For travel to the Republic of Austria, a GDR passport with visa, as well as an Austrian visa are necessary. Identity cards will not be accepted by the Austrian border guards as travel documents.

—For travel to the FRG, a GDR passport or identity card and a GDR visa are required.

GDR citizens can also travel on to the Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania. Identity cards and additional travel documents can continue to be used for travel to these countries.

Thus the temporarily valid special rules for travelling from the CSSR to the FRG with identity cards and without a GDR visa, valid since 9 November 1989, are ended.

These regulations are based on bilateral treaties and come into force on 20.11.1989 at 0000.

6 More Border-Crossing Points in Erfurt

LD1611211589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1953 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—A further six border-crossing points with the FRG will be opened in Erfurt Area from Saturday, Colonel Hartung of the GDR border troops told ADN this evening.

They are Grosstoepfer in Heiligenstadt District and Ifta in Eisenach District, which will be open to pedestrians and vehicles. Mackenrode (Nordhausen District), Ecklingerode (Worbis District), Treffurt and Dankmarshausen (both Eisenach District) will be open to pedestrians only.

At the same time it was reported that from Friday, 0600, citizens from Gerstungen and surroundings can join international trains stopping at the train stop of Gerstungen, instead of only in Eisenach.

Transportation Office Reports on Travel Situation

LD1711184689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1333 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to a GDR Transportation Office press statement, tourist traffic from the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany and to Berlin (West) today has resulted in large traffic jams, full parking areas, and overcrowded trains. A further increase is expected this weekend. Despite special trains being made available and extra train carriages to augment the scheduled trains, the seating and standing room was nowhere near sufficient on many routes. The statement indicates that the situation is especially critical between Dresden, Halle, Leipzig, Rostock, and Berlin and also via Plauen to the FRG.

The ministry urgently recommends to GDR citizens that they select a later time for journeys via those routes.

400,000 Make Visits to W. Berlin

LD1711205689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1840 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—Today around 400,000 visitors from the GDR were counted in Berlin (West). Politicians in the city appealed to the guests to do without their cars and to use public transport. The BVG [West Berlin transport authority] will also lay on extra buses as well as elevated railway and underground trains at the weekend, it was announced.

Over 3 Million Visit W. Berlin Over Weekend

LD1911181289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the weekend once again, more than 3 million GDR citizens visited the FRG and Berlin (West). Although now more than 90 border- crossing points have been opened and more than 100 special trains have been laid on, traffic jams, delays, and waiting times could not be avoided everywhere, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer told ADN on Sunday.

Overall, the second weekend of travel passed with fewer hitches than the previous one. A heavy wave of return traffic began early on Sunday afternoon. Thanks should be expressed to the many thousands of railway workers, local transport operatives, petrol stations, members of the People's Police and passport control, border troops, and German Red Cross, who worked day and night, some on special duty, to solve the problems caused by the flood of travelers.

One also must mention the patience and discipline of the overwhelming majority of travelers. Many of them obeyed the calls by the People's Police and the mayor of Berlin (West), Walter Momper, to leave their vehicles at the edge of the capital and to use the underground and urban railways.

More Than 10 Million Travel Visas Issued

LD1811112289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1059 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Ministry of the Interior announces that since 9 November until 0800 this morning, 10,127,598 visas for private journeys and 17,537 permits for permanent emigration from the GDR have been issued by the German People's Police.

Numbers Rise

LD2011093989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0915 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The German People's Police have issued 10,299,107 visas for private trips and 17,738 permits for permanent emigration from the GDR from 9 November to 0800 Monday morning. This was announced by an Interior Ministry spokesman.

More Border Checkpoints Opened 18 Nov

LD1811171789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—To facilitate travel between the GDR and the FRG, several more border checkpoints were opened 18 November.

In the Magdeburg Bezirk [area] alone, eight new checkpoints will be in use from this weekend. Thus their number has tripled since 10 November. New checkpoints were also opened in the Erfurg, Suhl, and Gera Bezirks. [passage omitted]

Troops List Most Favorable Crossing Points

LD1911082389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0536 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Between 00.00 and 24.00 yesterday more than 1.69 million GDR citizens crossed the border to the FRG and to Berlin (West). According to GDR Border Troop Command statement, more than 890,000 people traveled to the FRG and about 800,000 visited Berlin (West).

To avoid long processing times the Border Troops are advising people to use less popular crossing points: instead of Selmsdorf (Rostock Bezirk [area], switch to the Gadebusch crossing point (Schwerin Bezirk); instead of Salzwedel (Magdeburg Bezirk), switch to Bonese; instead of Hohengandern (Erfurt Bezirk), switch to Kirchgandern or to Wahlhausen (pedestrians only); instead of Wartha and Tretfurt (Erfurt Bezirk), switch to Grossburschla and Ifta.

Of the crossing points to Berlin (West) if possible Wollankstrasse, Bornholmer Strasse, Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse and Oberbaumbruecke should not be used. In the city area of Berlin it is a good idea to switch to border crossing points at Invalidenstrasse, Puschkinallee, and Stubenrauchstrasse (latter two pedestrians only). Citizens coming from the north should use the border crossing points at Stolpe (motorway) and Falkensee (Max-Reimann-Strasse).

Magdeburg Transit Camps Reduced to 2

LD1711195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—The number of transit camps for former GDR citizens who wish to return to Magdeburg Bezirk [area] has been reduced from 18 to 2. According to information from Dr Harry Ziethen, a member of the bezirk council, the wave of returnees announced by the FRG Red Cross has not yet appeared. Now one rather assumes that it will be instances of those wishing to return making the journey individually. For this there are aid centers in Magdeburg and Hostensleben available to complete all the formalities. Those

returning can also go to German Red Cross advisory offices in Oebisfelde, Marienborn, and at Magdeburg train station.

Shevardnadze Cited on Regional Changes

LD1911100189 East Berlin ADN in English 0910 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has voiced his support for recent decisions by the GDR Government.

Speaking to an association of women journalists in Moscow, he said he thought what was happening in the GDR was "a completely normal process."

"We have no doubts that this is the only possible way," he added

As to changes undergoing in Bulgaria, Shevardnadze said he was convinced that bilateral relations with Bulgaria, which were already excellent in the past, would develop even more active in future. On Friday [17 November] Peter Mladenov replaced Todor Zhivkov who ran Bulgaria for 35 years.

Shevardnadze said for years the Soviet Union had come out for dissolving the two military blocs. But as long as the West failed to answer the Soviet proposal, the Warsaw Treaty would keep its stabilizing function.

He said he looked forward optimistically to the summit meeting in December of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush aboard two warships in the Mediterranean off Malta.

"I can forecast that it is going to be a very interesting and very useful meeting," said the minister

Krenz Plans To Travel to CSSR for Visit

LD1711181789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the GDR Council of State announced that Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR Council of State and general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, will travel to Prague on 21 November, 1989, for a working visit at the invitation of CSSR President Gustav Husak and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Visit Postponed

LD2011161289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1559 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the GDR State Council reported today that both sides have agreed to postpone until a later date the working visit to Prague, planned for tomorrow, by Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR State Council and general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee.

Bulgaria's Mladenov Interviewed on Common Tasks

LD1711191589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1828 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—The Bulgarian legislature unanimously elected Petur Mladenov as chairman of the country's Council of State today in Sofia. The legislative caucuses of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Peasant's Party, introduced the relevant proposal.

Mladenov, who is also general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, was suggested for this function at a Central Committee plenum yesterday. Former Council of State Chairman Todor Zhivkov had been released from this office by a unanimous resolution.

In the first television interview that Petur Mladenov granted after his election to the Sofia correspondent of "Aktuelle Kamera," he described resolving complicated economic questions and renewing society and the political structure as his most important tasks. Legislation in accordance with present-day conditions should be aimed at the interests of the people and should include all spheres of life. "Incidently, our tasks in many spheres are similar to those to be resolved in the GDR," Petur Mladenov said. "Let me take this opportunity to wish the GDR much success in its process of renewal."

The Bulgarian legislature elected other government members on the same day, including Boyko Dimitrov as foreign minister and Khristo Khristov as foreign trade minister.

SED 'Observer' Attends RCP Congress

LD2011114289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1112 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Bucharest (ADN)—The 14th Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Congress opened in Bucharest today under strict security precautions throughout the country and the capital. Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu announced at its opening that 3,308 delegates are taking part in the congress.

The guests include 114 delegations from communist, workers, and social democratic parties and other movements from 82 countries. Taking part for the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] as an observer is the SED representative on the editorial staff of the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. A number of parties have called off their attendance at the congress, referring to continued human rights violations, the personality cult surrounding Nicolae Ceausescu, and serious violations of socialist democracy. [passage omitted]

'Comprehensive' Relations Sought With EEC

LD1711201989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1942 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Paris (ADN)—A memorandum from GDR's prime minister, Dr Hans Modrow, to the European Community (EEC) was handed over to the French Foreign Ministry in Paris today by the GDR Ambassador to France Alfred Marter. France currently has the EEC presidency. Verbatim letters were handed over in the other EEC capitals.

The GDR's ambassador in Brussels, Dr Ingo Oeser, today briefed the European Community Commission in Brussels on Dr Hans Modrow's letter. As he afterward stated to the press, the GDR is ready to develop comprehensive relations with the EEC. This readiness includes cooperative relations in the most varied of areas beyond trade relations.

There were close contacts with the EEC commission to prepare a mandate soon for negotiations on a GDR-EEC agreement. Oeser pointed to the government statement by the GDR's prime minister to the People's Chamber, with which Modrow had opened up new prospects for significantly extended cooperation between the GDR and the EEC states.

Kohl Remarks Noted on United Germany

LD1911083289 East Berlin ADN in English 0820 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The pictures from the GDR currently to be seen in television every day are astonishing, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl has said in the Bavarian capital of Munich.

Speaking at a party congress of the Christian Social Union (CSU), the Bavarian sister party of Kohl's governing Christian Democratic Union (CDU), he came out against tutelage of GDR citizens by the FRG.

Contradicting to previous statements and to international treaties he described a fixing of two German states as "inacceptable" and said there was no independent GDR citizenship.

With reference to the border between the two German states whose gates were flung open last week by the GDR Government he presented his conception of finally abolishing the border and forming a united German state.

He said the GDR must now abandon its economic system and adopt the "social market economy" of the FRG.

The congress re-elected as party chief Theo Waigel, who holds the finance portfolio in Bonn.

Krenz, Modrow Receive FRG Minister

LD2011164189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR State Council, and Dr Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the federal minister for special tasks and head of the FRG federal Chancellor's Office, Rudolf Seiters, for a talk in Berlin this evening. On the GDR side, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer also took part in the meeting, which was held in the State Council's seat of office. FRG Government spokesman Hans Klein told journalists in Bonn earlier today that Seiters has gone to Berlin for "exploratory talks", and will not deal with individual questions.

Immediately before the talks with the GDR leadership, the chancellor's office minister told news representatives that his discussion will also help pave the way for the talks between Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Egon Krenz.

BERLINER ZEITUNG Ponders Wall

LD1311130489 East Berlin ADN in English 1000 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new border and travel regulations issued as a result of the policy of renewal and signalling the GDR leadership's readiness to overcome old dogmas have been greeted with satisfaction in the international arena, BERLINER ZEITUNG daily writes on Monday.

"The overwhelming stream of travellers has freed dammed-up feelings which made life in this country sometimes unbearable—or, for some, completely intolerable.

"But what will become of the wall? Will it be superfluous," BERLINER ZEITUNG asks.

This is certainly not so, as has been shown in particular at the Brandenburg Gate in the past few days, the daily goes on. "West Berlin neo-Nazis there tried to start translating into action loud calls by Western politicians to dismantle the wall."

"The shouts and violent attacks on border installations caused alarm. They made clear how useful a well-organised border regime can be if it serves to protect the country and, in this case, prevents neo-Nazis from following their old traditions and march through the Brandenburg Gate with shouts of victory," the newspaper ends.

Paper Says Reunification Not 'On the Agenda'

LD1411085589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0313 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hundreds of thousands of GDR citizens are making use of the new travel regulations instigated by the Politburo of the SED [Socialist Unity

Party of Germany] in order to visit relatives or friends or simply to look around "over there," in order to form an impression by seeing things for themselves. There were masses of German-German encouters. "The joy about the practiced policy of renewal under the conditions of real world publicity was great everywhere," the GDR newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND notes today.

In view of the frustration which has built up over decades, it was only too understandable that with many people emotion was gaining the upper hand. "But whoever interprets the joy on the Kurfuerstendamm straight away as a vote with the feet for reunification is acting deaf, and deafness also makes people (politically) blind, as is well-knwon. For the question of unification or reunification has neither been raised by the vast majority of the four million or so who went to the FRG and Berlin (West) in the last few days, nor does it play any role in the mass demonstrations in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden and other cities." The renewal of socialism in the GDR—and the new travel regulations were a significant step in this direction—and the unification of two states with different social orders and alliance memberships were two mutually exclusive processes.

In essence, observers in the West see things this way as well. No serious Western politician questioned the fact that the existence of two German states is a fundamental prerequisite for stability in Europe. The mayor of West Berlin, Walter Momper, has advised the Bonn government not to hang on to its dreams of reunification of the 50's any longer. How topical this view is was shown by recent remarks from revanchist associations. Thus on 12 November the "expellees" leader Koschyk came out expressly against "bans on thinking" about reunification.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND concludes: "There is much to do between the two Germans states in terms of regulated co-existence. There are many things on the agenda, but reunification is not one of them."

Modrow Stresses Policy To Meet Expectations

AU1711165589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[ND report: "Hans Modrow Answers Journalists' Questions"]

[Text] Berlin—Following his election as chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Hans Modrow answered questions of journalists who first congratulated him warmly. Modrow said that he had taken over a difficult office which required modesty and hard work. He said that he would receive proposals from the chairmen of the other parties on Tuesday [14 November] for forming a genuine coalition government. He said that he expected all partners to meet this claim, because it was not enough to just talk.

Discussing the first steps of the future new government, he stressed that it was necessary not to pursue a social policy that does not meet the people's expectations. He said that most important in this respect were production and supply because the country had to function.

Modrow said that an economic reform had to be carried out, and very competent people had to contribute their share to it. Many experts such as general managers and scientists had already submitted proposals. He said that he had had close contacts with such experts already in the past, and this would now be continued in a new way.

Answering a question about priorities, Hans Modrow stressed that the economy ranked first. However, it is necessary to renew the social system of socialism on the whole, he said, adding, that to this end entire lists of laws had been presented which must be dealt with in the near future. He said that it should not be forgotten that the love of our home country and culture play an essential role in our country.

The prime minister called upon the journalists to help create publicity for every deputy and for every people's representation. However, in so doing, they should not primarily bring those into focus who are at the top, he said.

In connection with the dialogue on all levels with all social forces, Hans Modrow referred to his recent contacts with associations such as the New Forum. He said that in the past he had also always had contacts with friendly parties and mass organizations. He said that the newly established government would have to work on this broad social basis .

Answering a question of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Prime Minister Hans Modrow said that the 11th People's Chamber session had been to him a lesson in democracy. He said that he fully approved of this. He said that every deputy must realize in the future that the People's Chamber was doing a job that would not make things easy for the government and would allow the chamber to control it.

Modrow Interviewed After 13 Nov Session

LD1311221989 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1907 GMT 13 Nov 89

[News conference with Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, by unidentified reporters at the conclusion of the 13 November People's Chamber session in East Berlin—live]

[Text] [Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Modrow] Not only a difficult, but also, I think, a great evening. In line with the responsibility I bear to the people, when I took my leave in Dresden I said that I knew it would be very hard work and that the office requires modesty from the person who takes it up. And I think, at the same time quite a bit of strength will be needed for this task.

[Reporter] Comrade Modrow, people are expecting an active, viable government. What do you understand by this?

[Modrow] Well, a government, a genuine coalition of all parties. They must strive to put forward proposals for this Council of Ministers in order to nominate competent people. It will not be enough to ask for more representatives within this government, people of the right sort of competence will have to be nominated. Initial talks will have to be held tomorrow with the chairmen of the parties because we have little time. We must all undertake a review, and I think we will find a consensus to solve this problem.

[Reporter] A government statement must also be prepared. This People's Chamber today ended with the remark "a lesson in democracy." What help does the chairman of the Council of Ministers think this session today will give him in the fulfillment of his duties?

[Modrow] I also think it was a lesson, and this lesson must, of course, be reflected on over the next few days together with those people who will be working on the government statement. I would like to say that I won't be starting from scratch. My party nominated me, so I have had a few days in which to think. In the next few days I will continue what has been begun, taking account of this day of teaching and learning. Then I will make a statement to the People's Chamber which will make the deputies feel that this lesson, as it was called, has also been incorporated into it.

[Reporter] What new elements of cooperation between the Council of Ministers and the People's Chamber will there be?

[Modrow] I think the most important thing will be that the People's Chamber will be able to rely on the government being the agent of the chamber, and this must always be the case. Personally, I can say that today it is not desirable that people should remain in any office for a long period. Since 1975 I have belonged to the chamber, have done committee work myself, was chairman of a committee—the youth committee—and I can remember one event: I was head of the committee and the minister of agriculture did not turn up for the meeting. And at the time I said we will not continue to talk until he arrives, and he came, and the discussion could continue. And I think this is a tradition that did apply once in this house. One cannot assume the [word indistinct] which I also spoke about at the Central Committee session of my party, which happened after the seventh party congress. In this house I have also seen some parliamentarianism and helped to shape it, and thus we also have a tradition which we can take up and carry on.

[Reporter] Hans Modrow, as prime minister you will have a great responsibility for the economic development in our country, too. What do see as the most important tasks in this field for the immediate future?

[Modrow] I think there are three things in this connection. First, I very much support what was said by various deputies today. The country must function, we all must work hard. Where work is not being done, no social policy can be pursued, and we cannot achieve what people expect. The second thing: We will take certain measures which will very quickly help to end bureaucracy and obstacles, so that the economy is free of them. Third, we will have to introduce a staged economic reform, in which first of all very competent people will have to be involved. I already have a big pile of proposals from scientists and general directors of combines, and I can say one thing: I will not have to start from scratch making contacts with general directors and leading scientists. In all my work in this field I have had scientists at my side and have worked with economists, and this will continue now at new levels and at considerably more depth.

[Reporter] The economy, then, is one of the most important tasks of the new government. Where do you think the priorities are, because I think there is so much to be tackled that you cannot do everything right away and all at once?

[Modrow] Of course, the economy will play a predominant role. But it would not be good if the government saw it in isolation. There is, of course, the need to tackle the entire socialist social system. There are whole lists and laws that have been mentioned as needing solution; we must turn to these now. And not a lot has been said about the country's culture and all those things that make the country attractive. And I think that in this sphere a lot has to be done, and I also think this is an absolute priority.

[Reporter] What do you expect of us, the media? What can we do to help implement this policy?

[Modrow] I think the media should help above all to do what has not been done for many years, to publicize each deputy and the work of parliament, and avoid so much focus on the leadership. This is the favor I would ask, to have an understanding of this—if the chairman makes himself scarce vis-a-vis the media and the deputies and all those who have responsibility are made a bit more visible.

[Reporter] Agreed. Most people, and this was made clear today at the People's Chamber as well, want to keep socialism. Of course this also means the preservation of certain principles. What's your view?

[Modrow] I can say here that what is called dialogue—we have heard this word almost too much, but it has become so important in the last few months—in the last few weeks I have had a lot of opportunity to talk to people belonging to the New Forum and to other groups, who appear as citizens' initiatives or whatever nowadays. I have never had a lack of meetings with the friendly parties, trade unions, and mass organizations, and I think the political work of the government must continue to be as broad as this.

[Reporter] You need a good plan for 1990, Hans Modrow, this was pointed out today as well. When will we be hearing your first good thoughts?

[Modrow] In the speech at our party group, I asked for a straight correction, and this has happened. We will not be able to develop a plan for 1990 very quickly. During the rest of the year we will have to do some precise planning and accounting and will have to put a plan to the People's Chamber which is realistic, in which the combines and factories are present with their initiatives, because some ideas which are occasionally put forward now are just totally unrealistic. What we must do is to start right at the top with all our energy.

[Reporter] In the last few days many citizens are returning from the FRG who can help with this plan. How will the government treat these people?

[Modrow] I think we have begun measures on this which will have to be further developed in the next few days. The German Red Cross of the GDR and the FRG have reached an agreement on these issues. Measures have been laid down by the present acting government to act in such a way that the 10,000 or so citizens can get back home quickly and that they find their home, in the sense of their residence and of feeling at home, as well as finding their jobs again.

[Reporter] Now we have touched upon the problem of travel as a whole. How do you see the immediate future?

[Modrow] I think this matter of travel is a happy event. You could see this when people went to Berlin or Hamburg or wherever. But I believe the GDR citizen must have the proud consciousness of being a citizen of a sovereign country, of a socialist state. He must make his identity especially clear in these encounters, and we must realize that, at home, we have in the GDR Mark—I have always said this—a hard currency, a good currency, and no one should throw or give it away when abroad. It rebounds on us if we play around with it.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] measures in the formation of a government?

[Modrow] Now you are anticipating the government statement, which I must first discuss with my colleagues here on Friday. I have done some work on this government statement, but it must also be approved by the Council of Ministers, and I do not want to anticipate that.

[Reporter] Government negotiations with the FRG have been put on ice, so to speak, for a few days, because the new prime minister had to be elected. When will specific negotiations begin?

[Modrow] It is well known that Herr Seiters will be coming to the GDR on 20 November. It was said here that the chairman of the State Council had a telephone conversation only yesterday, and today the media have said that there is an agreement with Federal Chancellor Kohl on a meeting in the GDR at his suggestion. Of course, I cannot give any dates now; that must be bilaterally agreed. But as far as I can judge it will not take forever.

[Reporter] [words indistinct] form of socialist democracy as practiced here today in the People's Chamber?

[Modrow] I think so, it cannot be otherwise. Every deputy will have to work in the future to make things difficult for the government. I can foresee this, it cannot be any other way. Otherwise there can be no checks, and the government will have to get used to the fact that it is not talking to comrades here, but that one is in the parliament and must address the deputies as deputies.

[Reporter] A question prompted by curiosity: Will the prime minister be moving to Berlin?

[Modrow] The journey here is too long and, as I lived for 20 years here in Berlin and know and love the city—just as I felt at home in Dresden—I have been putting out feelers to find a decent apartment in the city. And I hope the mayor will help the chairman of the Council of Ministers on this.

[Reporter] Can you tell us what your normal working day is like?

[Modrow] I am, of course, I must say, not only at present, someone who is always used to long hours of work, and I will have to continue this here, so to speak. It is normal for me to work for 14 to 16 hours; the only thing which I miss at present is swimming 3 times a week and running 10 kilometers twice a week. This has not been possible over the past few weeks, but I hope that I will be able to return to a normal rhythm of life after the formation of the new government.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] of the outgoing government, when I think of the shattering details of the latest discussion?

[Modrow] I must say quite frankly that the full extent of this is not easily comprehensible for me either. I must examine this myself and base my own opinions on the things I have heard.

[Reporter] You have said, Mr Modrow, that 20 years ago you worked here in Berlin. How do you assess this time between Berlin, Dresden, and now Berlin again?

[Modrow] The period in Berlin was for me a time which was bound up with a situation where there was an open border until 1961. I come back to Berlin and find this situation once again, so to speak. And this leads me to a wealth of reflections. One is joy, and I worked as a planner in 1961 in an electrical appliances factory in Treptow. I know what a complicated time that was. We must work to ensure that all these problems of work forces, and speculation, and other similar things do not reoccur; and we live today at a time when many more demands are being made. We are a country with a low level of crime, we have no drugs problem, we have little trouble with AIDS or other problems. Therefore, I feel

that we should be clear that all these things require a high degree of responsibility on the part of the government and also common sense on the part of the citizens. I return to Berlin in a new capacity; I have worked for 20 years here in the assembly of city councillors, and so Berlin has, one might say, a place in my heart.

[Reporter] The government statement will no doubt clarify a great deal which we might like to ask here. I think we will end the live interview here and wish you all strength for the tasks facing you.

[Modrow] Thank you very much.

Modrow Comments on Free Elections, Berlin Wall

AU1411101689 Hamburg BILD in German 14 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with GDR Premier Hans Modrow by Peter Brinkmann: "When Will You Open the Brandenburg Gate?"—date and place not given]

[Text] BILD: When will you open the Brandenburg Gate?

Modrow: We will discuss this soon. Above all, I have to consult my people who are responsible for this. At the moment it is still too early.

BILD: What will the planned election law be like?

Modrow: This will be decided by the People's Chamber and only by the People's Chamber. Since my government will not—as it happened in the past—separate itself from the People's Chamber we have to fully respect the wishes of the deputies. My government remains the organ of the people's representative body.

BILD: Do you expect the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to get a majority in free elections?

Modrow: If you ask your chancellor and all parties, you will always get the same answer—of course, we will receive the majority. We, too, are struggling for this.

BILD: And what happens if you do not get it?

Modrow: Who can rule out anything at all, if elections are held? However, I proceed from the premise that we can receive a majority of votes. However, talking about this today would be too early. And giving up today because we do not believe to get a majority would be equally wrong.

BILD: Thus you could be the first GDR premier who initiates reforms and, at the same time, the last one put up by the SED?

Modrow (laughs): That is what you said.

BILD: When will the elections take place?

Modrow: This has not yet been fixed, but, according to the Constitution, elections have to take place in 1991. And the Constitution is what counts.

BILD: When will you go to Bonn as premier?

Modrow: We will see. First it is Kohl's turn to come to the GDR. Then it depends on how the chancellor acts here.

BILD: Will you have the Wall torn down completely?

Modrow: At the moment we do not think of this at all. No. Momper in West Berlin has the same fear. He, too, is not coming to grips with the economy.

Before the FRG Government—like everybody else—has come to an understanding with us, we are only creating chaos. And for us there is also a completely different question. In our state the crime rate is very low, there are hardly any cases of AIDS, drugs are practically unknown. Our people ask why we do not leave this situation as it is. If an open border throws all this into our country, then I, as premier, do not have any chance for my policy.

Jarowinski Addresses People's Chamber 13 Nov

LD1311183189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1340 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Speech by Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Deputy Werner Jarowinski at People's Chamber debate in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Mr President, honored deputies: The GDR is in a complicated situation full of contradictions. It is marked by a deep crisis and an emergence into new things. A revolutionary popular movement has set in motion a process of deep changes. What is involved is the existence of socialism on German soil and its fundamental renewal. What is involved is the well-being of our people in social security, security, and peace. It is our aim to strengthen the power of the workers and peasants as a socialist state and its national sovereignty.

Honored deputies, the 10th SED Central Committee meeting last Friday decided our party's Action Program. This program, I would like to state before this exhalted house on behalf of the SED parliamentary group, is our standpoint for the deep restructuring of the GDR, the revolutionary renewal of our country. The Action Program, at the same time, is our offering for the way to the future.

The Central Committee dealt critically and self-critically with its own work and our situation in the country. It noted serious mistakes by the former general secretary and the former Politburo. Its leadership style was extensively characterized by political arrogance and self-satisfaction and not, however, by businesslike collective discussion. However, this is not only a question of individuals. Behind this lies the fact that the political system decisively shaped by the SED was unsatisfactory in taking up the diversity of the interests, views, and

demands of the people and in processing them. In the final analysis, it functioned almost totally from the top down and little from the bottom.

However much in theory it was designed to involve millions of citizens in the preparation and realization of state decisions, in practice it (?excluded) this participation through overcentralization and a patronizing approach.

Our party, the Action Program shows, is determined to draw radical conclusions from this bitter fact. The renewal of socialism in our country is not conceivable without the renewal of the political system. The socialist democracy which we need must be true rule by the people. It is the best wish of the SED that the word of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligensia, the word of every citizens will once again find a hearing and determine actions.

It will study carefully the experiences of the revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union and involve them in our work in accordance with our conditions.

At the same time, what has been achieved in 40 years of workers' and farmers' power on German soil is the starting point for the renewal.

Rule by the people means that the parliament, the People's Chamber, must really (?decide) the fundamental questions of the state [word indistinct]. This means that parliamentary work should be viewed by us, too, with much higher status. The SED parliamentary group is of the view that the proposals for the revolutionary renewal of socialism included in our Action Program require changes in the GDR Constitution. This requires solid preparation, further experience, (?precisely of the renewal process which is opening up) and all relevant considerations. (?It is prepared for this from many sides).

The SED parliamentary group will in the next weeks and months dedicate itself in particular to a well-thought-out preparation of laws which serve the shaping of the socialist state based on the rule of law and the guarantee of human rights. This applies to a new electoral law which guarantees free, universal, democratic, and secret elections, in which the voters can choose between candidates and parties. Every stage of the election must be under guaranteed public control. This also applies to the law on freedom of association, the law on the freedom of assembly, a media law, and a speedy change to the stipulations in the penal code on political crimes and on crimes against state (?regulations). It is our wish to work together with the other parliamentary groups on an equal basis on all issues and to seek a consensus in the interests of the majority of our citizens in the case of diverging views. We should always bear in mind that it was always the uniting factors and common ground which took us forward. We paid too little attention in the past to the real differences of interests which exist and have existed in our society. We often overlooked the fact that these uniting factors arise out of differences of opinion and respect for the convictions and proposals of those with opposing views.

Fellow deputies, the SED is in favor of a democratic coalition government. We want a government capable of making decisions composed of competent personalities, which is (?based on) all parties of our democratic (?system) and reflects their equal cooperation. The SED parliamentary group is in favor of increasing the representation of the other parties in the government. It would be a good thing if experts who do not belong to any also work in this government. In the past, the Central Committee Politburo restricted the scope for action of the government. This has harmed the government and everyone. We have put an end to this. We also expect the government to convey to the deputies all the information which promotes well-informed decisions and real control of government activity. We recommend [words indistinct].

We regard it as urgent firstly that the government immediately rescinds all special provisions and privileges which are not justified by performance. A relevant task for our party was (?completed) by our party's Central Committee. Our parliamentary group proposed that the People's Chamber, in line with Paragaph 28, Section 2 of its standing orders, form a temporary committee of deputies from all parliamentary groups to control implementation of the government decisions.

Fellow deputies, we recommend that the People's Chamber committees should better prepare legislation, and go about their implementation in a new way for more effective control. The chairman of the GDR State Council, Comrade Egon Krenz, has already made proposals on this in his statement before the People's Chamber. We also support the formation of a [words indistinct]. The tasks of internal security are unreservedly subject to the control of the highest people's representation. The National Defense Committee should be given these tasks; it should be restructured into a committee of national security and defense.

Fellow deputies, from this tribune I would like to direct a word to those social movements which are not represented in our parliament. In the past a great deal of bitterness and harshness has accrued between our party and yourselves. The SED is now taking a different approach to this question also. We are seeing and hearing things which are encouraging, in particular from the New Forum. Its representatives have recognized the constitutional basis of our state. Voices expressing concern at the fate of the GDR as a sovereign socialist state are becoming increasingly audible. We feel that it is time to move closer to one another. The stormy assemblies for democracy have set a great deal in motion. We are clearly in agreement that the production of goods in quantities necessary for our people must not be impeded. It is now important to ensure normal work and improved working conditions everywhere, to ensure that work can be carried out publicly and swiftly. My party has

demanded urgently that a realistic plan for 1990 be drawn up swiftly and thoroughly, directed toward the stability of our national economy. The draft plan should be submitted to the People's Chamber.

Among the focal points of the program for action are the fundamental change in economic policy and a comprehensive economic reform. It should be aimed at the continually improved representation of the real needs of the population, the national economy, and the whole of society. What is important here is the unity of economy and ecology. It is a question of a planned economy directed toward the market conditions, which offers, to all those involved in the economic process, incentives and economic initiatives and high achievements.

Fellow deputies, among the most important elements of a consensus, already reached, is the firm determination to solve all social problems politically, without violence. On behalf of my party, I would like to stress once again, and most emphatically: We hope that this common concern will be respected outside our state frontiers also and that all expression of violence will be prevented. People of our country have welcomed the decision of the Council of Ministers to open far-reaching possibilities for travel and visits to the FRG and to West Berlin. Today, we are finding that the new policy is geared toward the people. In the opinion of our party group, the government should immediately draw the necessary conclusions from their decision, in particular to ensure the prevention of economic damage and [word indistinct].

The Governments of the GDR and the FRG and the Senate of Berlin West are equally called upon to seize the chance for the further normalization of relations between the sovereign German states and to act responsibly and quickly. This is the requirement of the hour. The proposal we have submitted to commission a joint group of experts with the task of working out all questions connected with travel and tourism, particularly the economic ones, and of proposing agreed solutions should be taken up in Bonn and West Berlin. In accordance with the obligations of the GDR as a member state of the Warsaw pact, the SED parliamentary group supports all proposals directed at the consolidation of peace in the center of Europe. It supports goodneighborliness, trusting cooperation, and economic cooperation with the FRG and Berlin West. The GDR's relations with the FRG can make an even greater contribution to stability in Europe, if both sides apply international law to the full extent. We also expect that the FRG Government act in a peace-promoting way. Anyone who puts borders in question endangers peace and security in Europe. The SED parliamentary group affirms the standpoint expressed by Egon Krenz in a telephone conversation with Helmut Kohl that the reunification of Germany is not on the agenda.

Honored deputies, we are convinced that modern socialism, which the people of the GDR have set up together, is the alternative to capitalism on German soil. Everyone can take part in the revolutionary restructuring in our country. The SED fights for this.

Paper Praises 'Good Decision' on Congress

LD1411121289 East Berlin ADN in English 0940 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"By convening an emergency congress the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) has taken a good decision, revising one announced only shortly before," Tuesday's BERLINER ZEITUNG says commenting on a move to drop the idea of a party conference.

In letters and cables and at rallies in many towns basic branches said they demanded that such a decision be taken, as only congress may elect new supreme bodies.

"It can hardly be supposed that all members of the Central Committee overlooked and overheard those signals. Was it inconsistency, half-heartedness or consideration for long-time members which caused the Central Committee to favour a party conference?" the paper asked. "Anyway—harmony between the Central Committee resolution and the will of strong forces at grassroots level was not given in the first instance." It was established after some delay.

Poll Reveals Optimism Toward Developments

LD1611122189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0646 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Interview with Professor Toni Hahn, sociologist at the GDR Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the Academy of Sciences, about an opinion poll by the newly established Opinion Poll Center, by Karin Schorsch; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Schorsch] What kind of people were interviewed last weekend?

[Hahn] Two large groups were involved: People who were heading for West Berlin were interviewed at the checkpoints, and people living in Prenzlauer Berg and Hohenschoenhausen. Fifteen percent of the interviewed were older than 50, 25 percent were younger than 25, the rest were between these age groups.

[Schorsch] What questions did you ask?

[Hahn] Do you have mainly hopes or fears in connection with recent developments, or neither? It was interesting that a slightly optimistic opinion prevailed; 48 percent said we have mainly hopes, while 47 percent said we have hopes and fears.

One can say that the slight optimism is connected with expectations and demands which turned out in the interviews. There were clear demands in some respects. One of our questions dealt with the demand for free elections. The results was clear: 93 percent of the interviewed were for a basically changed election law. Only a minority demanded little improvements.

Interesting in this connection was the question: Do you know about the programs of parties, organizations, and political groups, programs which would be significant for a democratic decision in the elections. Sixty percent said no. In further talks, however, all the interviewed said they wanted to obtain detailed information about the programs through the press and media.

Another interesting questions was: How should visits to the West be financed? Some 68 percent of the interviewed said that a certain amount should be guaranteed. We asked: Do you have friends or relatives who have left the GDR? Fifty percent said yes. When asked: What do you think about that problem, 87 percent said: I will certainly stay here. We asked about the motives of the 87 percent. The answer was: because I am here at home, or because my friends and relatives are here. Some 55 percent said: because I believe in the democratic renovation of socialism. All in all it was a slightly optimistic assessment of the situation.

Another question was also interesting, namely: Some people have already returned. What do you think of that? Seventy-one percent said that this is good and they support it; 13 percent said: I do not think this is good. This indicates certain social reintegration problems, an issue that is likely to cause more public discussions. [passage omitted]

Further on Poll

AU1911153789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 89 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "Why They Are Staying...."]

[Text] When the stream of emigrants and resettlers approached its climax, when more than 10,000 GDR citizens became "former GDR citizens" over one single weekend, the people in the streets of Leipzig and Dresden chorused: "We are the people!" Those who left and walked out on more than their work, relatives, and friends were accompanied by the shout: "We are staying!" This shout was both a pledge and a demand. It was a pledge to the GDR state, to the difficulties and efforts, and to the readiness to face them. However, the demand to the leadership of this state to put into motion reforms in all fields and not permit a relapse into old times could not be overlooked.

The responsible citizens' attitude of staying and making sure that the change will be credible and lasting, which has the most varied motives, is a fixed value in the flood of events that practically precipitate themselves. The rewarding and difficult work of renewal can be accomplished only with the people. It has a real chance only if the majority identify themselves with it. Marx had already found out that an idea becomes a material force if it grips the masses.

Statements by GDR citizens show how correct this thesis is. In a quick poll carried out by sociologists of the Academy of Sciences in the Berlin City districts of Prenzlauer Berg and Hohenschoenhausen on the weekend [11-12 November], 87 of those polled said that they would "certainly stay"; 48 percent of the respondents said that they mainly place hopes in the developments of the past 4 weeks; an almost equally large part (47 percent) feel a mixture of hopes and fears. Almost unanimous was the demand to have the first steps of renewal followed by others, with the emphasis on a fundamental change in the election system.

One can only assume what the results of a similar poll would have been like weeks ago. Even though the available results are not representative, they demonstrate a trend, which makes one hopeful—as does the fact that, according to the Bonn Interior Ministry, a "rapid decline" of the number of resettlers has been registered. There is a trend of increasing interest in having people return to their original homeland.

Perhaps some people were given the final impetus by a flier distributed in West Berlin on the weekend. The text, which was published by JUNGE WELT says: "Shape your country the way you want, but do not permit yourselves to be bought. Do not let your pride be bought for momentary advantage!"

Democracy Now's Statement on Freedom to Travel

LD1611172589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The right to travel is an elementary human right which can neither be denied nor granted by the state. This observation is made in a statement by the citizens' movement Democracy Now, which was released to ADN today. It is proposed that this be anchored in the GDR Constitution. "We support the proposals by the College of Lawyers for a renewal of the travel laws and at the same time demand the abolition of the exit visa. Restrictions must be laid down in law and be examinable by the courts. Passports should not be issued by the German People's Police but by civilian registration offices. Conscripts should also have the right to travel unrestrictedly before, during, and after their active military service."

The citizens' movement supports all restrictions on entry for former GDR citizens being removed without delay. Citizens whose GDR citizenship was illegally withdrawn should have it restored immediately.

"We want entry to the GDR to be possible for Germans from the Federal Republic and West Berlin as well as for all our neighbors without the need for special applications and without bureaucratic formalities. We demand the same conditions of entry for them as are granted us in the FRG and West Berlin."

The movement urgently recommends "an examination of the issue of compulsory exchange." At the same time the statement also points out the necessity of negotiations between the governments of the two German states on the outstanding issues of travel law and financing. "We appeal to all our fellow citizens not to squander

GDR marks at unrealistic exchange rates and thus weaken our currency still further," the statement says.

Democracy Now Asks Referendum on Constitution

LD1811114489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The citizens' movement "Democracy Now" has called for a referendum in 1990 on Article 1 of the Constitution, which lays down the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in society. In a message handed to ADN, the authors raise the question of whether there is a clear instruction from the citizens of the GDR for the SED's claim to leadership. They take the position that socialism should be based on the majority will of citizens and not on the laid-down leading role of the SED. Socialism will not end with the termination of such hegemony; it does not start until there is living democracy. The democratic formation of will without the laying down of the leading role of the SED is required.

The authors announce that the citizens movement "Democracy Now" will collect signatures in support of its call for a referendum until 31 December. In January the citizens' movement will approach the People's Chamber with a request to call a referendum on the necessary amendment to the Constitution.

Honecker Addresses Statement to Politburo

LD1611200789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1946 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary and State Council Chairman Erich Honecker has addressed a statement to the Politburo of the SED Central Committee. This was announced today by the acting chairman of the State Planning Commission, Gerhard Schuerer, speaking on GDR Television. He was replying to a viewer's question concerning a statement by Erich Honecker and former Education Minister Margot Honecker about the "damage caused." Schuerer said that he had not yet been informed about the contents of the statement.

SED Takes Away Guns From Functionaries

AU1711110889 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Nov 89 p 8

["W.K." report: "SED Disarms Its Functionaries"]

[Text] Berlin—The leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has disarmed its functionaries in the kreis organizations. After the suicides of the party leaders in Bautzen, Koethen, and Perleberg the service weapons are being collected. This order also applies to the department heads of the SED Central Committee, it was said. Today, a British television station intends to carry a documentary on the background of the suicide of Perleberg Kreis Chairman Uhe, who shot himself in his office.

According to the Berlin TAGESZEITUNG, former GDR espionage chief Markus Wolf considers the SED leadership under Krenz only as a "provisional leadership" until the SED Congress in December. Wolf criticized the fact that many "comrades" had "waited for the general secretary and his words. And how much they were disappointed!"

Lorenz Speaks at CC Session on 10 Nov

AU1711150389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 pp 11, 12

[Speech by Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, at the 10th SED Central Committee session: "Our Basic Concern Is the Renewal of Socialism"—in Berlin on 10 November]

[Excerpts] Dear comrades, we are probably all aware of the fact that both our own party and the officials have linked great hopes to the discussion and the implementation of our party's action program. One must not ignore that the draft action program has been drawn up under very dramatic conditions. We are facing an increasingly changing and complicated situation in our country and also within the ranks of our party.

We must start from this situation quite objectively, because it creates the high responsibility for the next steps that we have to adopt here at our plenary session. We must, of course, think in the long run. We must seek steps that help to shape the party. We must face our party with absolute honesty and sincerity. We must make a constructive offer for a new beginning and contemplate how, on this foundation, we can create a new basis of confidence, though this will not be achieved overnight.

Under this aspect, I would like to say a few things about the present draft, which was submitted to you by the editors' committee, which includes 25 comrades of this very plenum:

First; the basis for this draft is of course the speech held by our general secretary at the beginning of our plenary session, as well as many fundamental ideas of the first draft. [passage omitted]

We also take into account that, meanwhile, the public has also made several contributions—viewpoints, position papers, which were reprinted in our party papers, and even in the central party newspaper. Finally, we also follow attentively and consider the positions of the block parties and social organizations.

Second: As is already reflected in the title, the basic concern of the draft is to take consistent steps for the renewal of socialism. This is our clear and explicit intention, this is the prevailing idea, which is the basis of this draft. In this respect there is full agreement among all members of the editors' committee. It is our intention to make socialism more democratic, give it new dynamism, to propose clear positions for decisive reforms on the

socialist basis of our development, and on the basis of what we have achieved. [passage omitted]

Third: Despite the necessary consistency in the question of renewal, which we support—and about which there cannot be any doubt—there is also agreement within the editors' committee that it would not make much sense, and that it would be irresponsible if we were to make short-term promises. We do not pursue a policy of making promises we cannot keep. [passage omitted]

Fourth: Basically I would like to note that this is a draft, which we put forward for discussion, and which is not the ultimate truth. Now we must use the great intellectual potential of our party for further developing this draft.

SED Commissions To Prepare Party Congress

LD1711183589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1801 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee Politburo commissions have been formed to prepare for the SED's Extraordinary Party Congress from 15 to 17 December, ADN was told today.

The Commission on Motions is led by Wolfgang Herger. It will also accept proposals and advice on a new party statute. The Commission on Working Out Draft Resolutions and an Organization Commission will be headed by Guenter Schabowski and Siegfried Lorenz respectively. The Central Party Control Commission, chaired by Werner Eberlein, will pursue any information on abuse of powers, violations of the law, or any other misdemeanor by SED members committedly and regardless of the persons concerned.

Education Official Speaks on Reform Efforts

LD1711210489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1838 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [no dateline as received] Guangqui Wang, from the umbrella organization of Chinese students in the FRG, criticized the attitude of the former GDR leadership to the events in Beijing. The pro-democracy movement there had been crushed 4 months ago. The changes in the GDR would also give Chinese students hope.

The acting deputy minister of higher education, Professor Siegfried Schwanke, spoke about steps toward a reform of higher education. He received applause for the announcement that students will now be offered the opportunity to substitute civil defense training with deployment in the health service. The ministry was in favor of the complete abolition of civil defense training for students, and of students' not performing military reserve service while studying.

Nominee Views Revamped Office of Security

LD1711221289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2006 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The work of the future Office for National Security will only follow policies determined by the GDR People's Chamber and thus serve the people, stated Lieutenant General Wolfgang Schwanitz, who has been nominated to head the Office for National Security. In a conversation today with ADN, he emphasized that implementation of the law is a priority for all employee activities.

Dr Schwanitz supported the control of the office by appropriate institutions in the highest people's representation. "We ourselves are very interested in the responsibility, tasks, authority, and principles of the working methods of the office being regulated in a law on public and state security. The work of the Office for National Security is not possible without a close relationship of confidence with the workers. We will do everything to win back lost confidence."

Dr Schwanitz referred to the fact that the investigatory activities of the Ministry for State Security [MFS] were hitherto subject to control by the State Prosecutor's Office. "We welcome from now on the extensive control by the People's Chamber as the highest elected GDR body."

The prime minister said in his government statement that it is not only a question of a new label. It really concerns a new determination of tasks in accordance with the introduced process of revolutionary renewal. It concerns the necessary restructuring of the forces, and, of course, it also concerns a reduction of the forces and funds, as the prime minister also said, and namely a reduction in real figures. For the moment about 4,000 to 5,000 employees must be considered.

"With the forming of the office, we are leaving behind us everything that has not proven its worth and that was incorrect. This concerns, for example, questions that the work of the former MFS had been structured too broadly, that policy priorities had been overemphasized, and that during the past few years the transparency of our work fell back, at least in the media. From now on we will draw the right conclusions."

"Our work is concentrated on investigating plans which endanger peace, particularly those of imperialist secret services and the prevention of terrorism, as well as fighting anti-constitutional attacks, protecting and securing the GDR's national economy, and not least fighting manifestations of neo-fascism," Schwanitz said. He gave as an example the fact that since 1961 around 1,000 agents recruited by imperialist secret services had been arrested, 22 of them since 1986.

The designated chief added that at the moment many employees of the office were being subjected to massive threats and slander.

They had loyally and reliably completed those tasks assigned them in the firm belief they were serving peace and the building of socialism. Employees of the Ministry for State Security had achieved meritorious things in investigating and thwarting plans which endangered peace and in the fight against espionage by imperialist secret services. "They come from our people and belong to our people."

New Forum Cofounder Views Legal System

LD1711221989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2139 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rolf Henrich spoke today in Berlin's Gethsemane Church to numerous members of the citizens' initiative New Forum, which he co-founded, on the subject "from an authoritarian to a constitutional state." He started out from the hypothesis that shortcomings in the law hitherto meant that the citizen in the GDR, although co-owner of the means of production, had the political-legal status of a ward of court. The apathy which has arisen through this can only be reduced through the activating of many people, and through the acquiring of new fields of practice in culture, intellectual life, and the economy.

The new laws which were announced show that the country is standing in front of a new epoch for the state and judicial systems, said the author of "The State Under Tutelage" in his lecture, which was followed by a lively debate.

Appeal Issued for 'Radical Reshaping' of SED

LD1811120589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0039 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members of Humboldt University have appealed to all party comrades to elect to the extraordinary party congress only those delegates who, by their demonstrable self-critical and upright attitudes and dealings, draw the consequences of the past and who resolutely act for the renewal of socialism. The appeal says: "Elect delegates who vouch for the radical reshaping of our party from the grass roots to the general secretary."

The alteration of the agenda of the party congress is demanded, the new version of which should be as follows:

1. The causes of the social crisis in the GDR and the responsibility of the SED and its leadership for the political situation which has arisen (report and discussion).

2. Resignation of the Politburo and the Central Committee.

3. New determination of the position of the SED in socialist society and the principles of a structure to be specifically established, the manner of work and policy of the party (conceptual ideas and discussion).

4. On the switch from administrative to modern socialism in the GDR and also on the contribution by our country to the shaping of a democratic European home (program orientations and discussions).

5. Position of the SED on the outlines of a necessary economic reform in the GDR.

6. Election of the Central Committee and the central control bodies of the party.

7. Vote of confidence on the newly elected general secretary of the party by the party congress.

In their appeal, the SED members of Humboldt University describe a humane socialist society rid of exploitation which releases human potential and which preserves nature for our grandchildren as the goal to be strived for.

They also point out that, throughout the world, administrative and centralist socialism is finding itself in crisis.

This also applies to the socialist system in the GDR. Only a new quality of socialism will give the GDR the chance of a future. But at the same time, obsolete structures of power and thinking in the party would endanger renewal, "So far, we must stress that the new party leadership lags behind events too often, and has passed wrong resolutions which have been withdrawn only under massive pressure from the grass roots of the party."

Ministry Says No Disturbance of Power Supply

LD1911154989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1530 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In reply to an inquiry by ADN on the threatened interference of the GDR's energy supply by a group that calls itself "Democratic," the Heavy Industry Ministry stated today that nothing of this nature has occurred. There has been no disturbances to the energy supply at all.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Cited on Renewal

LD1311101289 East Berlin ADN in English 0935 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The consistence the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] party and and GDR state leadership have shown in renewing society has met with satisfaction, a GDR daily said on Monday.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carried a commentary on new GDR regulations on private travel and permanent exit used by hundreds of thousands of people.

The regulations were a sovereign decision of the acting GDR government. As SED party and state leader Egon Krenz said in his speech to a rally of Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) rank and file in Central Berlin last week, the regulations proved, "We are serious about the policy of renewal and are willing to work with all people who want to join us.

"Cooperation is on the agenda, not illusory reunification reference to which brought several speakers and leafleteers of the neo-Nazi republicans in West Berlin boos from East and West alike. This is the hour of a new normality. This is not the hour of provocative acts, of attempts at destabilization in Central Europe," the paper added.

HSP Not To Attend Romanian Party Congress

LD1811161989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party will not take part in the Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, which begins on Monday. This is what Gyula Horn told foreign journalists. The members of the international press institute, who were gathering information in Budapest, also asked the foreign minister whether Hungary will raise at the United Nations the disadvantageous situation of the minority in Romania. Gyula Horn replied that our country always voices its criticism in concrete terms in the UN specialized organs and that therefore this cannot be termed intervention in internal affairs.

Spokesman on 'Necessary Changes'

LD1911195789 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—Otto Juhasz, the foreign affairs spokesman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, informed MTI about the decision of the Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium, according to which the HSP will not be represented at the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The HSP is to welcome the congress in a telegram.

The HSP Presidium expresses its hope that, adapting to the general transformation process emerging in East and central Europe, the Romanian Communist Party—carrying out the necessary changes—will commit itself to renewing socialism, implementing reforms and democratization, creating a constitutional state, and to respecting humanist values.

The Presidium also sincerely hopes that human rights, the collective and individual rights of the minorities—including the ethnic Hungarian minority—can be enforced in Romania as soon as possible.

The Presidium reconfirms it invariably believes in the settlement of the debates issues between the two parties on a just basis, in a correct spirit.

The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party wishes successful work to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in the spirit of these thoughts and intentions.

People Turned Back; Delays at Romanian Border

LD1711191189 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—From 12 am. to 2 pm., the Romanian authorities turned back from the Hungarian-Romanian border station of Nagylak some 400 people, which included 145 Hungarian, 100 Polish and 29 FRG citizens, a Hungarian border guard official told MTI.

At the station traffic is blocked and the delay for lorries is 12-15 hours. Traffic at other Hungarian-Romanian border-crossing points is not considerably more than usual.

Radio Reports Border Closed

LD1711234889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a news item for those who may be preparing to travel to Romania. Eva Cseh reports:

[Begin Cseh recording] As I learned from the command of the Oroshaza border guard district, the Romanian border guard, without any particular justification, is sending back from the other side, from the Nagylak, Lokoshaza, Kotegyan, Biharkeresztes, and Gyula border crossings those intending to travel to Romania by train or car. The Romanians have not informed the Hungarian side about the reason for this. Thus one can only guess that they are taking these precautionary measures on account of their party congress, due to begin on 20 November. Since the situation at the Hungarian-Romanian border continues to be uncertain, in other words, our neighbors have practically closed off the entire border stretch, nobody should attempt to travel for the time being. [end recording]

[Announcer] The information we have so far received also confirms that the Hungarian-Romanian border cannot be crossed anywhere.

Border Guard on Situation

LD1811170189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Report by (Gyorgy Velkai)]

[Text] I telephoned the Border Guard National Command and learned that in the morning, exactly 873 people tried to get across from Hungary to Romania. As Lieutenant Colonel Laszlo Fenyo, the official on duty at the Border Guard National Command said, scarcely more than 500 travellers were allowed entry by the Romanian authorities. The others, the 40 percent who wanted to travel [to Romania] were sent back without any justification. The border guard also said that Hungarians are not the only group being turned away. Among those being sent back are Poles, Czechs, people from the Soviet Union, West Germans, Netherlanders, and Turks.

Currently the longest line is at Biharkeresztes, where there is a 1 hour wait. I asked the officer on duty what the Border Guard does in such cases. To this Lt Col Fenyo's reply was "nothing", because to his knowledge it is the Foreign Ministry which must take steps. Owing to the congress border closure, the Border Guard can only recommend that those people, for whom it is necessary, should not set off on journeys to Romania.

Traffic at Border 'Problematic'

LD1911203989 Budapest MTI in English 1858 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—Traffic at the Hungarian-Romanian border crossing points continues to be problematic. According to information received from the national headquarters of the frontier guards, 1,368 tourists wanted to travel from Hungary to Romania from 6 p.m. Saturday to 11 a.m. on Sunday, however, 187 of them, mainly Hungarians and, in fewer numbers, West Germans, were turned back by the Romanian authorities, without any explanation. Lorries were also held up at the Nagylak border station, and their crossing was delayed by the Romanian frontier guards.

On November 17, six novice frontier guards and their sergeant accidently crossed into the area of Romania, on some 30 metres, in the vicinity of Csenger. The soldiers had weapons, but no ammunition. The Hungarian side has apologized for the mistake. The event is to be discussed at the next session of the Hungarian and Romanian border commissioners.

On Sunday, Romanian authorities turned back 250 people wishing to enter Romania from Hungary. The reasons for the step are still not given in any of the cases. Lorries now face a wait of up to 18 to 20 hours on the border.

Further Reportage on Romanian Brasov Anniversary

Regime in 'Hermetic Isolation'

AU1711134589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Nov 89 p 2

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Brasso-1987"]

[Text] Two years have passed since the pot boiled over in Brasso [Brasov in Romanian]. The workers of the Red Star Truck Factory took to the streets with slogans like "We want bread!" and "Down With the Dictator!" Nothing like this has occurred in a Romanian city for decades: a mass demonstration in a place where even the "ius murmurandi" or the right to grumble is banned. To use professional jargon: police restored the order, and several hundred people were imprisoned.

Glasnost does not have an equivalent term in the political dictionary of this neighboring country. Therefore, the press reported about the events only later, when the official press agency had already issued its own version: Allegedly, the local leaders were to blame for the demonstrations because "they disregarded the law and a lack of discipline spread quickly." It did not disturb any of the formulators of the communique that the slogans did not speak about a Brasov dictator, but about the dictator, and that nobody would believe their version. Just like in Orwell's book "1984," truth and lies are interchangeable there, and the near and distant past can be rewritten at will, according to political demands.

It may seem that, contrary to many people's expectations, Brasso remained an isolated light in the Dacian night, but the appearances are deceptive. At a time when the implementation of human rights has gained considerably political importance both in the East and West, and when walls and taboos are crumbling down, time is relentlessly working against the current regime. The regime which did not want to hear about restructuring, which declared that it did not need a European home, and which provokes the leaders of national minorities and greets tourists with tear-gas at Nagylak has finally become isolated. Yesterday's fifty-fifty division is no longer valid among the socialist countries of central and eastern Europe, and a reform orientation has gained ground. One day prior to today's anniversary, the most prestigious communist party of Western Europe "took a step." (One of the leaders of this party was still writing a preface to Ceausescu's works in the year of the demonstrations in Brasso) The Italian Communist Party declared in Rome that it no longer has contacts with the Romanian Communist Party. They no longer have contacts with Nicolae Ceausescu, and will not accept the invitation to participate in the party congress in Bucharest.

It is difficult to imagine a more hermetic isolation. Almost nothing has been in vain in history. Brasso was not in vain either.

Youth Group Sends Protest Cable

AU1711141589 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Nov 89 p 2

[Report on "protest telegram" issued by the Young Iron Workers to President Nicolae Ceausescu on 14 November—place not given]

[Text] On 14 November, the National Conference of Young Iron Workers sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the State Council:

On the second anniversary of the demonstration in Brasso [Brasov in Romania], which was suppressed with merciless terror, we remember with sincere respect and profound solidarity the Romanian workers, and many iron workers among them, who took a courageous stand against oppression and helplessness, and who accepted the serious consequences for their fundamental human rights and their physical subsistence .

It is the tragedy of the population in Romania that it is impossible to live a life worthy of a human being in an allegedly "socialist" country, and for this you personally must take the responsibility in the face of all the world. The workers of the tractor and truck factory in Brasso dared to express their will with deeds, but you should not delude yourself, this was only the tip of the iceberg.

Why do you refuse to notice the favorable processes under way in the world, the democratization, and the international detente? We wish Romania to become an

organic part of Europe, but there is no chance of this if the construction of "Romanian socialism" continues in this way.

We Hungarians also have serious economic and political problems, and we still have to learn how to solve conflicts in a democratic way and using the new political practice. We are doing that now. However, we do not give up the democracy that asserts the will of the majority, the citizen, the national minority, and employees' rights, and the principle of a peaceful solution to conflicts.

We expect all this from you too!

Former Writer on Events

AU1711151189

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 15 November on page 4 carries a 1,500-word article written by Sandor Huszar, a former Hungarian writer in Romania and member of the Romanian Writers' Association, currently living in Hungary, under the headline: "The Road Leading to A Better Future Goes Through Brasso."

The article is written in the form of reminiscences from the authors' days in Romania, his harassment following the demonstration of workers in Brasso [Brasov in Romanian], and his conclusions.

Huszar begins his article by recalling that, while living in Bucharest, he "had to listen to the Hungarian programs of Radio Free Europe" if he wanted to hear a radio program in Hungarian "as the Bucharest radio's 1-hour Hungarian-language program could not be heard in Bucharest, only in Transylvania" so that "the Hungarian language does not hurt the sensitivity of the Romanian population."

Huszar recalls this in connection with the fact that he learned about the second anniversary of the demonstration in Brasso from the Romanian program of Radio Free Europe. Huszar then goes on describing the conditions prevailing in the wake of the demonstrations and his attempt to gather material for "a future report" on the events; Huszar recalls the difficulties in traveling in the area at a time when "everyone was checked at the Brasso station and, everyone who could not prove that he had urgent business in the area was sent back with the first train." Huszar also tells about the odd ways of gathering important information, like the news brought by his local pedicurist about "the radiation treatment of people arrested during the demonstrations."

The article also includes a detailed description of police harassment during one of the author's trips to Transylvania to visit relatives, during which his car was thoroughly searched and Hungarian-language newspapers, books, and manuscripts were confiscated despite his membership in the Romanian Writers' Association, an event that prompted him to emigrate after all.

Huszar then points out that "despite the fact that time seems to stand still in Romania, something did happen between 1977 and 1987" [reference to the miners' strikes in the Jiu valley], and that "the majority of workers who demonstrated in Brasso were Romanians."

Huszar concludes his article by saying that "although slowly, the Romanian people begin to understand that they have to struggle for freedom."

Daily Editorial on GDR, Berlin Wall Events

AU1511103289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Nov 89 p 3

[Editorial by Katalin Karcagi: "Wall"]

[Text] For 28 years, we have tacitly acknowledged with appreciation their inexhaustible inventiveness—the lonely wolves in the tolerant masses of people who were crawling, swimming, digging channels, hanging on air-balloons, carrying ladders, and crossing the Wall with obsolete machines. For a long time, it seemed that the behavior of the people of the GDR contradicted the psychological axiom that one who is enclosed becomes mad. Then nonetheless, the earth moved and this earthquake moved the foundations of this concrete monster. Since the night of Thursday evening/Friday morning, the heart of the old Continent has been beating faster. The Wall is still there, but the open gates show that this ugly cold-war remnant separating not only the two parts of Berlin and the two German states, but also Europe, this construction that has poisoned the lives of three generations, in reality exists no more.

The GDR leadership tried in 4 weeks to compensate for the delay of decades. This leadership has made repeated concessions under the will of the population. As the refugees found roundabout ways—through Hungary, the CSSR, and Poland—the front page publication of DER SPIEGEL no longer seemed to be totally absurd: "Ruler—Without a People." Not so long ago, former party chief Erich Honecker—about whom people say that, despite the dramatic situation analyses, he refused to believe what was going on around him and rebuked those who brought him the news—confidently declared that the Wall would stay as long as the reasons for its construction remain. However, whatever they succeeded, more or less, in making the world believe in 1961—that they built the Wall to avoid the luring of manpower and the infiltration of "subversive elements"—has become a totally obsolete argument today. They even tried to refresh their arguments. Honecker spoke about blocking the "wildings" of civilization, the destructive drugs. He seemed to forget the facts: Western pushers and pleasure-seekers had to exchange only DM 25 a day in order to be able to smuggle their goods in the country. The old leaders of the party-state would have preferred to throw ideas to the other side of the Wall: the possibility of competition between political forces and of a legal order. However, they could never keep the GDR population away from such information; the GDR people have been for a long time well aware of how the

West is doing all this from radio and television broadcasts. The Berlin leadership got between two fires when the GDR citizens also saw attractive examples in Eastern-European countries.

For decades, certain West-German politicians have been behaving like cane-wielding schoolmasters. At the beginning of the mass exodus, they seem to have dropped this slashing instrument from their hands. The schoolboys took the guidance seriously and crossed into the other German state in masses. Its Constitution obliges the FRG to accept them, but it soon became obvious that they are having increasing difficulties in settling so many people under proper conditions. The leading circles in the FRG grew alarmed at the possibility that the flow of refugees would not slow down. They quickly changed their tone and urged the GDR to carry out thorough domestic changes and reforms so that its population would stop seeking the garden of Eden on the other side of the border.

Does that mean that Bonn retreated and recoiled from its willingness to take sacrifices, and no longer wished self-determination and the unification of the two German states? There is something else here, namely a sense of reality. In June, Gorbachev declared that the GDR would decide about the Wall as it deems fit. However, the existence and statehood of the GDR in the current situation is an indispensable element of a European balance. As long as several hundreds of thousands of Warsaw Pact and NATO soldiers are confronting each other on the territory of the two German states, it would be an illusion to think that this situation could be changed without involving the big powers.

As we know, words do not always lead to actions. In their official statements, the Western allies have never opposed the creation of a united Germany, but when journalists kept asking about the timing of this event, the allies settled the affairs by saying that "it is still very far away." They did not hide their concern that a united Germany would leave its political and military bonds, and would choose neutrality. The allies confided that they would not welcome the merging of the economic potential of the two German states.

The international press reported it as a sensation that French President Mitterrand said in Bonn recently that he did not oppose a German unity. However, it is worth noting his additional words: "...if this reunification takes place peacefully and democratically." The image of the strengthened giant also revives old fears both in the East and West. Bonn understands these reservations, and therefore, it seems that—like the chancellor is doing now in Warsaw—it is trying to obtain an agreement in principle for a possible unification in the future, when the weapons disappear and when a closely or loosely connected German state entity—depending on the economic order—would no longer disturb peace in Europe.

Now that the Wall has lost its function, the process of European rapprochement could accelerate. We must think in shorter terms, not in decades, to imagine the day when the four former allied big powers will sit again at the table and sign a peace treaty with Germany, and will put the stamp on the map of Europe, a place where, in reality, the drawn borders are no longer defended by watch-towers.

Minister Horn Issues Statement on GDR Events

AU1511171489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Correspondent's report: "Gyula Horn Gives Statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP—The Berlin Changeover Is Favorable for Us Too"]

[Text] The changes in the GDR are strengthening the irreversible elements of the Hungarian restructuring—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn declared in a statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP. Asked about the short-term and long-term effects of the Berlin changeover on the Hungarian situation and whether, as a result, the attention and the interest of foreign capital will not turn away from us, Gyula Horn said the following:

"I have not noticed any change in the interest of the West toward Hungary in the wake of the changes that took place in the GDR. What they are more interested in is whether we will be able to cope with our economic difficulties.

"I regard as natural that international attention is now focused on the GDR events. The speed of the changeover alone is really worth noting. Moreover, the GDR has a considerably greater weight than Hungary in Europe from a geopolitical, economic policy, and security policy viewpoint. Its relations with the FRG are also of a different range.

"However, I think that this attention will not reduce the interest towards Hungary, because the changes under way in Hungary have by far preceded those accomplished in any other Warsaw Pact country. The GDR has not even begun the process of democratic transformation, they have not yet touched their political system, and their goals are also far from ours.

"The economic situation in the GDR is also totally different from that in Hungary. Through the internal German trade, the GDR is indirectly participating in the Common Market. There are hundreds of cooperation and joint ventures between the GDR and the FRG. We are talking here about strengthening the existent ones, rather than beginning such ventures anew. In addition, in my view, there are much greater resources in the GDR economy than in the economy of any other Warsaw Pact member state.

"I also see great opportunities for Hungary in a GDR economy undergoing modernization. The two economies are closely intertwined. Should the GDR economy embark on the road of genuine modernization, this

would exert an extremely favorable influence on Hungary too. I would not exclude the possibility of reexamining the possible employment of Hungarian manpower in the GDR, including specialist training.

"It can also be of great importance if the GDR government policy toward CEMA is modernized on the issues of cooperation with socialist countries, for example, on the issue of accounting among Eastern-European countries.

"We should not ignore the fact that we, the countries that want reforms and are carrying out reforms, have really attained a majority now within the Warsaw Pact. It is certain that the changes in the GDR are strengthening the elements of irreversibility of the Hungarian restructuring. The only reason I am not overly optimistic is that too many dangers continue to threaten this process of restructuring. These dangers vary from country to country. On the other hand, I consider the economy of every Warsaw Pact state to be in a critical state. This is a serious source of danger.

"Anyone who is intensively dealing with these problems knows that it is possible to achieve quick changes in politics, but one needs several years for genuine changes in the economy, especially in order to feel these changes. If I have any concern, it is because of the economic situation. Economic mistakes committed over many decades cannot be remedied in 2-3 years. Disappointed and resigned people who are in a state of apathy and cannot directly feel the effects of political changes on their own living conditions can be easily exploited by the political circles that want to slow down or avoid the process of restructuring. In my view, there are such political circles. In my view, this is the greatest danger. Therefore, I think it is of vital importance for a genuine economic restructuring to begin as soon as possible"—Gyula Horn pointed out.

Democratic Forum Calls for Referendum Boycott

AU1711120889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Hungarian Democratic Forum Calls for a Boycott of the Referendum"]

[Text] Through the National Press Service, the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] issued a statement on the referendum to be held on 26 November.

"The National Presidium of the MDF has already taken a stand in connection with the referendum to be held on 26 November. However, our members and sympathizers have urged us to declare our opinions more clearly and in detail.

"Therefore, we give four answers in connection with the referendum.

"1. We will not participate! We will not vote!

—because the National Assembly has already decided on three out of the four issues on the agenda of the referendum.

"I. The Workers Militia was abrogated by law;

"II. A law stipulates the elimination of party organizations in working places;

"III. A law stipulates the parties' property inventory—if the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] does not give account of this property, the court does not register it, and it cannot run in the elections.

"2. We will not participate! We will not vote!

—because the method and timing of the presidential election do not influence the constitutional authority of the president of the Republic.

"3. We will not participate! We will not vote!

—because we want a quick and genuine democratic change, rather than political fireworks that serve party interests; such a change is served by parliamentary elections as soon as possible, and not by the spectacular and expensive confirmation of past decisions.

"4. We will not participate! We will not vote!

—because we have had enough of pseudo-decisions and sham democracy.

"We want a genuine act! Parliamentary elections on 11 March 1990! That will be the moment of a regime change. Then, we will all be there!"

MDF Views Move To Boycott

LD1811050189 Budapest MTI in English 2324 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—Addressing a rally organized by the Buda Organizations of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) in Budapest Friday evening, Istvan Csurka, member of MDF's Presidium discussed the motives behind the decision to boycott the November 26 referendum.

Mr Csurka said that initiating the referendum was an attempt by the organizations which declined to sign the national roundtable agreements to counter their political defeat. He said three questions on the voting list are already settled, and deciding the date of the presidential elections, the fourth question, by referendum would only postpone the parliamentary elections and threaten political turmoil.

Lajos Fur, MDF's board member and candidate for the post of president of the republic, pointed out that the adoption of the key laws had created conditions for putting democracy into practice through the election of the presidsent of the republic, the new parliament and the local councils. The referendum would upset this

schedule as uncertainty about the presidential elections could delay both parliamentary and councils elections, Lajos Fur said.

Election Office Holds Referendum Trial Run

LD1911070589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Today's main trial election run has gone well, Tibor Csiba, head of the Interior Ministry's election office, said. Prior to next week' referendum, experts as well as the returning committee members filled ficticious records, and tried out the computer system. The voting premises will be closed at 2000 [1900 GMT] next Sunday evening. The final result is expected within 24 hours of the conclusion of voting.

Voting Notification Cards Not Reaching All Areas

LD1911101189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The technical preparations are smoothly under way, but some of the citizens are not really able to prepare for the referendum, for objective reasons. This is the case because there are complete constituencies or districts where not one person has received the so-called sounding-out card [hungkopogtato cedula].

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Where were these voting sheets found?

[Unidentified speaker] (?On Erzsebet Square) in the bins and in the containers. This is the voting notification. It is a card from which the voter learns two things: where he must vote and that it is necessary for him to vote in the first place. This is only a sample of the supposed 1,000 which are being carried by the wind on the streets, the tramway stops and elsewhere, in Kispest [area of Budapest] and elsewhere.

[Reporter] How are these scattered onto the streets?

[Unidentified speaker] We have no idea who they are—obviously they are not postmen, but they are voluntary workers, council workers, agents; probably the people who take them out simply scatter them about, they roll them up into the bins. It is reported from the 3rd District, Bekasmegyer, that those destined for elsewhere are regularly dropped in at every house. Obviously, people throw out those which are for others and do not deliver them. The situation is that the cleanliness of the voting is dangerously at risk; all of these people do not have the guarantee time for appealing to the council or court, as stipulated in the Election Law, and in this case I do not know what will ensure the cleanliness of the voting. [end recording]

Voting Procedures Explained

LD2011032889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Hungarian citizens are entitled to participate in the referendum which will take place in a week's time, without the so-called "sounding-out cards", just by showing their identity cards.

The head of the Interior Ministry Election Office told MTI that all citizens who are entitled to vote, but have not received their "sounding-out card" can ask for them at the council. In reply to a question, Tibor Ciba said that they have tried to save the cost of postage stamps by using voluntary workers to distribute these cards to citizens. However, according to reports from several parts of the country, some people did not fulfill the task conscienciously and deliver the cards.

SZDSZ Issues Appeal on Upcoming Referendum

LD1911225389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] appeals to the electorate to reply with yes to the first question at the referendum of next Sunday. For in this case, after the deputy elections, the National Assembly would decide on the person of the president of the republic.

At the Nyiregyhaza mass rally of the SZDSZ, Imre Mecs, executive president said it would be very important to elect an unbiased person as president of the Republic in the interest of the future of the country.

SZDSZ maintains in the future too that until the elections, the president of the National Assembly, that is, Matyas Szuros should fulfill the post of the president of the republic. The Free Democrats propose moreover, that the present government should transform into a provisional government and it should reinforce itself with experts.

Reportage of Walesa's Trip to Canada, U.S.

Arrives in Canada 10 Nov

LD1111011189 Warsaw PAP in English
2333 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Ottawa, Nov 10—Polish Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa arrived in Montreal today, starting an official, several-day visit to Canada at the invitation of the Canadian Labour Congress.

The daily TORONTO STAR wrote among other things that Walesa aimed to appeal to the Canadian authorities for assistance to Poland.

Discusses Economic Cooperation

LD1211222589 Warsaw PAP in English
2018 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Toronto, Nov 12—Last night Lech Walesa visited the Polish General Consulate here. He expressed his joy that one can there, at the Polish Consulate, ponder what can be done for Poland, how to use the time and the chance." [no oper quotation mark as received]

Apart from staffers of Polish centres the meeting was attended by representatives of the Canadian parliament and also of Polonian and war veteran milieus.

I encourage all of you to make your own contribution to the cause of building a better Poland, Walesa said.

Bronislaw Geremek briefed those present on draft new legislation which would make it possible to restore the old, traditional character of activities of organizations dealing with Polish communities abroad. We hope that relations with Polonia will be lasting and normal as the Polish state has been undergoing changes, Geremek told the meeting.

Earlier a meeting was staged with a group of Canadian industrialists who were interested in possibilities and conditions of economic cooperation with Poland.

Meets Canadian Prime Minister

LD1411004489 Warsaw PAP in English
2157 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Ottawa, Nov 13—"Solidarnosc" leader Lech Walesa, now on a visit to Canada, held a 50-minute meeting with Premier Brian Mulroney here today.

During a short press conference, which followed the meeting, Premier Mulroney stated that Poland needed urgent capital investments, technology and know-how, and Canada's intention was to react to these needs as quickly as possible. Announcing that he would give details of the Canadian assistance later, the premier said that the federal government would reschedule Poland's debt repayment (dlrs. 2.3 billion) so that it did not threaten political and economic reforms in Poland.

Lech Walesa told journalists that he was welcomed in Canada very hospitably and warmly. Stressing that currently the situation in Poland is very difficult, he expresed a conviction that his trip to North America would result in new investments in Poland.

In his address at the joint session of the Foreign committee of both houses of the Parliament earlier, the "Solidarnosc" leader said the western assistance to Poland so far resembled "giving a corpse a beautiful new tie" and encouraged Western businessmen to use new possibilities of joint projects in Poland.

Walesa, Mulroney Comment

LD1411194189 Warsaw PAP in English
1633 GMT 14 Nov 89

[By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] Ottawa, Nov 14—On the last day of his visit to Canada on Monday Lech Walesa told newsmen—in the presence of Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney—that "Poland is open to all economic activities from outside."

Earlier, taking the floor before the foreign committees of the House of Commons and the Senate, the Solidarity leader referred to visible resistance on the part of Canadian investors towards "making business with Poland" and posed a dramatic question: "What else should we do in Poland that would be profitable for both you and us?"

"I do not mean cooperation of the 70's," Walesa assured the Canadian side. "I mean such cooperation which "will bring profits also to you. We give you guarantees but your businessmen do not believe us. Please, give your people the guarantees they need. The door to Poland is widely open, we are ready," he said. [quotation marks as received]

"I have come to Canada to say that Poland is becoming a normal country. Do not boycott our embassies and consulates. Get in touch with us through our embassies and consulates which are there to help us," he stated.

Premier Mulroney said that talks with Walesa had provided an opportunity to discuss Poland's economic, investment and financial needs. Canada intends to grant Poland adequate aid and is that country's big creditor. We want to discuss debt rescheduling to make it easier for Poland, Mulroney stated.

We support all that Mr Walesa and his colleagues are doing. The Canadian Government will closely cooperate with private investors to persuade them to start to support historic reforms in Poland, Mulroney declared.

Canadian Foreign Minister James Clark presented similar declarations. He assured the Polish side that Canada intended to give Poland assistance and the announcement of an aid program evidenced this.

Clark told newsmen that according to Walesa the Canadian private sector face a great challenge at the moment. I assured Walesa about the interest on the part of this

sector but, first, we must do a few things, among them the most important is to reach an agreement with the Interantional Monetary Fund, and I think that Poles understand this, Clark stated.

In reply to a question about the role of the Canadian Government in aid for Poland Mulroney listed two issues: Debt rescheduling and granting food aid to Poland. He said he hoped that Canada would cooperate with other members of the seven most industrialised states in the world for the benefit of Poland. The Premier expressed the conviction that Walesa's visit to this country would bring very positive results.

Also on Monday Walesa met with Canada's Federal Minister of Labour Jean Corbeil.

Assessing the visit, Walesa said: "As for words, we have been given a lot, as for deeds, we will see."

Asked about the German problem Walesa stated that it was "great and complicated" and that "one must not make an error in this respect. Entire Europe must be involved in it," he went on to say.

"I cannot imagine Canada not taking part in it. Division anywhere in Europe is an abnormal thing, our sad experiences from the past tell us to prevent it from recurring. One can try to solve this problem in a peaceful way to the satisfaction of all. The problem must be solved but in a way which would not pose any threat," Walesa concluded.

U.S. Senate Passes Aid Bill

LD1411194689 Warsaw PAP in English
1839 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, Nov 14—Eighteen minutes after Lech Walesa had landed in Washignton and before he was decorated with the Presidential Medal of Freedom by George Bush, the U.S. Senate passed the bill on a 738-million dollar assistance to Poland and Hungary within next three years.

Of the amount Poland will get 657 million dollars including a 200-million stabilization loan, 125 million in food aid and 325 million for the expansion of the private sectors in economy.

Eventually, Poland will receive 283 million dollars more than it was proposed by the White House.

Walesa on U.S. Visit

LD1711224289 Warsaw PAP in English
1148 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, Nov. 17—At the end of his stay in Washington, Solidarnosc chairman Lech Walesa granted an interview to PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski.

Walesa expressed a conviction that the talks with President Bush, the members of his cabinet and congressmen held in Washington would bear fruit in better understanding of not only the situation in Poland but also the Polish concept of aid, the essence of which is not reaching out for charity but a striving to expand economic cooperation between Poland and the West as much as possible and doing good business in Poland.

From my talks in Washington I gather that there are still many doubts, hundreds of unexplained matters, a special kind of psychological barriers. All in all a tremendous willingness to assist but also many warranted and unwarranted doubts and reservations, Walesa said.

It must be explained to people who want to do business with us and in a very convincing manner at that, that no one wants to rob them, will prevent them from doing business, that we want to create such conditions and principles of trade and economic cooperation to which they have become accustomed and which are advantageous for us and for them. I get the impression that this process of convincing them that their investments in Poland are good investments, that we will protect them, that Poland can be a market on which they will earn more than elsewhere, has just begun. We stated on all occasions that we want to undertake joint business but in a way that neither they nor we will lose out, on the contrary we will gain. I hope very much that the scope of understanding of Polish matters and their own interest in cooperation with Poland has increased to some degree as a result of these talks. We shall wait and see, Walesa told PAP.

Asked what most surprised him in America, Walesa replied: The reactions of not only ordinary people but also politicians. I did not encounter any negative reaction but I must admit that I came across sincere admissions that they do not understand many our matters and this was most surprising for me. Precisely this admitting that there are too many simplified pictures of Poland, certain false presumptions. People admitted to very simplified notions of Poland but at the same time declared a need to revise these perceptions and views as soon and as deeply as possible.

I do not think that the people with whom I spoke during meetings in Congress and the administration and other milieus did not speak the truth or let themselves be carried away by false moods when they declared a willingness to better understand Polish issues and a readiness to lend Poland assistance.

I would like a company, an institution, organization or something like that to be set up for contacts with foreign economic circles, for contacts with foreign business. I want to speak about this with Premier Mazowiecki. I consider this whole plane of contacts between foreign businessmen and Poland to be extremely important.

It can be of a character of an institution, commission, group: bilateral, Polish-American but it can also have a multilateral, international character. People representing this body should quickly and effectively intervene in parliament and the government, should have a right to

decide what must be removed, what regulation should be changed, should motion for the adoption of new laws.

In short, I will leave America with the conviction that if we want to do good business with the West, we must seek ways which would bring down barriers most hampering the inflow of capital into Poland and the pursuance of business in Poland benefitting our country, Walesa said.

Geremek on Walesa Visit, Europe

LD1811223789 Warsaw PAP in English
2002 GMT 18 Nov 89

(Text] New York, Nov. 18—On Friday Bronislaw Geremek met with members of prestigious New York-based Council on International Relations. Following the meeting Geremek granted an interview to PAP. Excerpts:

I held a meeting in the International Relations Council, in the circles of political and intellectual elite. I was assigned the subject "Europe of Changes". It was a very interesting proposal because it placed Poland's issue in the context of the whole Europe and not only of its eastern part.

It seems that when the problematique of changes in Poland, Hungary and the GDR is viewed in the European context, perceived are solutions that serve Poland's interests best. I think that the problem of Germany's unification is not the question for today, but it is the issue on which Polish democratic millieux should take a univocal stand because of moral and political reasons.

I think that it lies in Poland's national interest and in the interest of Poland's reason of state to say that Germany's unification is not contrary to Polish interests. If it is not said, then the only solution to the problem becomes the tradition of solving it only between the German capitals and Moscow.

I am of the opinion that such a solution would be not only made without Poland but also against Poland. Hence I think that the question of changes should be considered within the unity now forming in Europe. Only within that framework Germany will not become a threat to other European countries, to Poland in the first place.

Thus necessary guarantees for Poland's interests may be discerned within European solutions.

Our talks in the New York council concerned the question of some new political architecture in Europe, of such Europe whose 1992 unification prospects would not be restricted to the economic communities, to the community of the West, but would remain open, and not only for such countries as Poland or Czechoslovakia, Hungary, but also for the Ukraine, Lithuania or Russia.

Asked about the hitherto course of Lech Walesa's visit to the U.S., Bronislaw Geremek said:

I would not like to reduce the results of the visit only to the sum of money it brought to Poland. First of all, the important thing is that it meant to the world the ending of some chapter, the Yalta one, in the history of Europe, that it was Poland's leader that as if took tribute for that to have happened. And that was a tribute to Poland, due for many years but paid only now.

It happens so that this psychological shock has its material outcome as well. On Thursday, November 16 the U.S. Congress took decisions to considerably increase assistance for Poland.

I think that Walesa's visit resulted in a positive attitude of American public opinion towards Poland. It relates both to the business and politics worlds. Public opinion is that element which Solidarnosc has always relied upon. Now, following Walesa's visit I think that we have gained a great supporter of the process of changes in Poland. Therefore it is the visit of historic character, Bronislaw Geremek concluded.

PAP Notes Shevardnadze Remarks on Poland

LD1711190689 Warsaw PAP in English
1836 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 17—Addressing the Foreign Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, this country's Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stressed among other things Poland's significance for Soviet policy. Referring to the Soviet Union's attitude to the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Shevardnadze said the USSR was interested in the Polish Government quickly doing away with the problems facing Poland at present. The Soviet foreign minister also spoke about the need to consolidate economic cooperation between his country and Poland.

Jaruzelski on Polish WWII POW's in USSR

LD1811232889 Warsaw PAP in English
2143 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 18—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with representatives of various millieux, institutions and organizations dealing with tragic vicissitudes of Polish war prisoners and other people interned in the USSR during the last World War. Present were also Polish members of the joint Polish-Soviet Commission of Historians.

The commission had completed its task and handed over to the Soviet side available documents suggesting the perpetrators of crimes committed in April and May, 1940.

The president expressed hope that the results of research conveyed to Soviet historians will make it possible to finally clear up the issue of Katyn and of other camps.

Wojciech Jaruzelski added that crimes of the Stalinist epoch cannot obscure the truth on atrocities committed on the whole Polish nation by Nazi facism.

Acknowledging results of the research conducted by Polish members of the commission, participants in the meeting favoured its transformation into a state commission with participation of scholars representing various millieux and political orientations, various organizations and associations.

The meeting pointed to the need to start, in consultation with the Soviet side, work on mounting a monument in Katyn and on commemorating places of the death and burial of prisoners of other camps in the Soviet Union.

Rakowski Interview Published in Soviet Weekly

LD3010212289 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 30—Soviet weekly "ARGUMENTS AND FACTS" published an interview with PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Asked on possibilities of cooperation between the PUWP and Solidarnosc, Rakowski replied that such cooperation is necessary.

In the interview Rakowski summarized his Moscow talks with Mikhail Gorbachev. I left Moscow satisfied over the fact that finally times have come that I find support there for my ideas, what not always was the case in the past, said Rakowski.

Rakowski: Berlin Wall Collapse 'No Surprise'

LD1711200389 Warsaw PAP in English
1636 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—In an interview for PAP PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski raised a number of questions connected with the recent developments in the Democratic Republic of Germany and on the Poland-German states line. Rakowski said:

The opening of borders between the GDR and the FRG and the GDR's capital and West Berlin is the most significant event in the postwar history of Germany since the late 1940's when two separate German states were finally formed. My German friends know that I expected such a development of events. In my opinion this was a matter of the not-too-distant future. The collapse of the Wall came as no surprise to me.

The whole logic of developments in the socialist world, in East-West relations and in Europe was inevitably leading to this. Besides, almost on the eve of that event, I held a frank and unconventional talk on the issue with the GDR's new leader Egon Krenz. The Wall which on the moment of its construction reflected the then economic, political and military situation in this part of Europe, became an unbearable anachronism in the eyes of the GDR's society, a symbol of a barrier raised in the centre of Europe and a disgraceful anachronism in the image of the socialist world which is changing so much.

Just like everybody else, I welcome the collapse of the Wall with satisfaction. But I think that it creates a new situation for Poland and Europe which brings serious problems and to which we must re-adjust our political concepts safeguarding the national interests of Poles.

Poland's western and northern borders are legally guaranteed by two countries: by the GDR under the Zgorzelec Treaty and by the FRG under the treaty of December 1970. But the FRG stresses that with Germany reunified, its eastern borders should only then be subject to negotiation in a peace treaty.

To sign a peace treaty fifty years after the Second World War is something like giving the bride her veil on her golden wedding. Did the Punic War end with a peace treaty, and is it not time it was signed by Iran and Greece now, after several thousand years?

When the Berlin Wall was collapsing FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl was on a visit to Warsaw which was to be an historic breakthrough in relations between the two countries. There was no breakthrough and this word was deleted exactly because the FRG failed to state that in the face of unification of Europe and East-West detente, referring to so-called legal positions of the FRG becomes an anachronism. A clear statement was missing that a future, possibly reunified Germany would not stretch farther than the Odra and Nysa rivers and that the FRG is solemnly declaring this to Poland, Europe and the world.

These words did not come despite Prime Minister Mazowiecki pointing to the necessity for the other side to take an unambiguous stand on the border question as a condition of endowing the FRG with full trust. In this situation, if one were to disregard all the lofty slogans—as far as Poland is concerned, the prospect of reunification of Germany is invariably the prospect of discussion about borders, hence a return of the controversy over the territorial shape of our country.

If one thinks that speaking about the ideal of a unified, peaceful, free, Europe will replace the guarantee Poland gets from its close alliance with the USSR and from Soviet divisions on the Elbe, he shows political naivety and cannot tell passing things from real ones.

The collapse of the Wall triggers off a process which will bring new facts forcing European governments to reflect deeply and to ask ever new questions. What do I foresee? First of all, that the FRG will throw big money to level the differences in the living standards between the FRG and the GDR.

The flow of people, books, films, ideas, will create social, intellectual and psychological conditions of reunification. One could also list many obstructing factors, but the military factor continues to be the decisive one, that is, the American divisions in the FRG and the Soviet divisions in the GDR, as well as both countries' allegiance to different military alliances. NATO without the

FRG collapses. The Warsaw Treaty without the GDR is no more a factor co-determining the Pan-European situation.

The ideal which we have long supported is to dissolve both military alliances. But then a question arises about the foundations of Poland's security and integrity. And Poland is today weak in economic terms and not enough stable in political terms, so its future is still associated with something undefined.

Despite various anti-Soviet poses, whims and accounts which are in fashion now, I will put it straight: in view of the processes taking place west of Poland, our reason of state requires that our policy should be based even more firmly on a close state and military alliance with the USSR. Poland's pro-Western right wing should not inherit its historical mistakes. I think it thoughtless to demand a reduction of Poland's military potential and Poland's military standing in the Warsaw Treaty at a time of such developments on the GDR-FRG border which are in progress now. Also, Polish concepts of national security must be open to the future and based on the ability to foresee the future instead of clinging to the past which is going away. For the political Pan-European structure in which we lived for 45 years is coming to an end. And whatever is said about this life, we lived in conditions of peace and with a sense of national security.

Jaruzelski, Pact's Lushev Discuss Activities

LD1711215189 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—Poland's President and Chief Commander of the Polish Armed Forces General Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty General Pyotr Lushev, who is now paying a working visit to this country.

At the meeting, attended also by National Defence Minister General Florian Siwicki, the sides discussed the activity of the joint armed forces against the background of the ongoing disarmament negotiations and the progressing detente in the military and political situation in Europe.

The meeting passed in a matter-of-fact and friendly atmosphere.

Kohl Visit Results Pose 'Test' for Poland

AU1711141889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Nov 89 p 1

[Commentary by Wojcieh Wieczorek: "A Test of Partnership"]

[Text] The fruits of Chancellor Kohl's visit are the 11 agreements and accords that were signed and the issuing of a joint statement that sets out the foundations of mutual relations and areas for concrete cooperation between the two countries. There are many of them, and it is not possible to discuss all of them in one attempt.

A matter of first-rank importance for us is that the two sides, in stressing the importance of the 7 December 1970 treaty as the cornerstone of their relations, deemed, in section seven of the statement, their goal to be "a Europe of peace and cooperation" in which, among other things, "the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the states of Europe within their present borders constitute the basic condition for peace."

Concerning economic issues, it is noteworthy that the Federal Government is ready to "immediately" renew so-called the Hermes guarantees for "jointly selected and proven export projects and ventures with Poland." It is known from other sources that the guarantees will cover a sum of DM3 billion. Further significant assistance for the Polish economy is provided by additional decisions concern the restructuring of the Polish, the cancellation of part of the credit that the FRG provided Poland in 1975 and its partial repayment in zlotys, and support for Polish efforts to obtain assistance and economic cooperation from international institutions. It was also announced that there will be a significant expansion of economic and financial cooperation as a factor that will "bolster and stimulate" the whole range of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic. There is no doubt that this is very much needed today.

There are also reasons for reflecting on issues of another kind. We want to base our relations with the FRG, like those with other states, on the principle of partnership. It has to be acknowledged that in the economic field our relations with the FRG are, so to speak, highly asymmetrical: What we have is a world economic power on the one hand, and a country burdened by a protracted crisis on the other hand. This can give rise to various kinds of fears: the fear that, for example, this preponderance could be used as a means to apply political pressure, which is something that immediately assumes a special poignancy in the context of Polish-German relations and against the background of the developments in the GDR and prospects of German unification in particular. We take Chancellor Kohl at his word when he talks about the need for trust. However, something that must also be considered worrying is whether we—a society in which the work ethic has been obliterated, "market" behavior habits have been lost, and appropriate skills are lacking—will manage to prove ourselves in this cooperation. Moreover, there are already signs that in our contacts with Western partners there are a quite a few things that leave something to be desired.

Thus, political partnership and economic cooperation with the FRG, our most important partner in the West, also constitute a difficult test to which we have to be equal. We are receiving help in order to help ourselves. We are the weaker partner, but we have to be conscientious and efficient.

There was a time when it was fashionable to say: The Poles can manage it. It soon transpired that only a few Poles could manage to get the entire nation up to its ears in debt. This can never be allowed to happen again.

Reportage on EC Delegation Visit, Meetings

Arrives for Consultations

LD1811030589 Warsaw PAP in English
0138 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—An EC delegation arrived in Poland today. It includes, among other members, French Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas, now chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, and Jacques Delors, chairman of the Community's Commission.

The guests were welcomed at the airport by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister, member of the Council of Ministers Witold Trzeciakowski.

The guests will hold numerous meetings with leading personalities of the Polish political and economic life, among them President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

An important item in the delegation's Polish programme will be Saturday's plenary talks of both sides presided over by Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz. The guests will acquaint themselves with the present economic situation of Poland in the context of further EC cooperation with this country.

Jaruzelski Meets Dumas, Delors

LD1811223989 Warsaw PAP in English
2011 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received President of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities Roland Dumas and President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors who acquainted the Polish president with plans of the European Community to promote the expansion and further development of cooperation in Economy and trade between the EEC and Poland a programme for further ventures and actions in this respect adopted as a result of agreements between the Polish Government and the Commission of the European Communities. They also told the president about hitherto results and prospects for cooperation and support for Poland on the part of the group of 24 states whose work in this respect was coordinated by the Commission of the European Communities.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the last few months brought important progress in normalization of relations and development of cooperation between Poland and European Communities.

The president stressed that the processes of sweeping political, social and economic changes taking place in Poland opened up new prospects for all-European cooperation, including between Poland and states of integrating Western Europe. In this context, he pointed out that these changes and improvement in political climate in East-West relations in favour making courageous steps serving cooperation, based on equal rights and mutual benefits, in all areas and the creation of new institutional and organizational solutions that would overcome hitherto divisions and support the process of building common European home.

Foreign Minister Remarks

LD1811224489 Warsaw PAP in English
2051 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 18—President of the EC Council of Ministers, France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and President of the European Commission Jacques Delors spent in Poland the last several hours before a meeting of premiers and foreign ministers from the EC countries starting on Paris on Saturday [19 November] evening. They chaired an EC delegation which arrived in Warsaw yesterday evening.

Their call at Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski lasted for nearly an hour and a half. Following the meeting the head of Polish diplomacy told PAP:

The visitors pointed to the importance the EC attaches to economic stabilization in Poland, especially to strengthening our currency and to forming a banking system corresponding to the Western one. The delegation confirmed plans to extend food assistance. It was stressed that training of Polish specialists should become an important element in cooperation.

On my part, Skubiszewski continued, I pointed to the significance of our relations with the EC as the greatest part of economic assistance expected by Poland as related to economic cooperation with the Community's countries.

I consider all speculations on Poland's joining the EC as premature and unrealistic today. We are not prepared for that, Skubiszewski stated.

Neither should we however accept the status of a developing country, the minister added. Poland has sufficiently large economic potential not to be included in the group.

Plenary talks with the government representatives were the next point in the schedule of the EC delegation's visit. Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz chaired the meeting on the Polish side. Its main subject was assessment of the assumptions of the economic programme in the context of the expected assistance from the EC.

Directly upon their arrival in Warsaw on Friday [17 November] evening, the EC delegation was handed the text of the next Polish Government's memorandum. Minister Witold Trzeciakowski told PAP that it is more

specific and points to concrete EC countries moves expected by Poland. The memorandum was not however discussed during the plenary talks.

It was agreed that work on setting up a Polish-European bank to coordinate financial assistance should be started as soon as possible. The Polish side postulated a prompt settlement of the question of servicing Polish debts.

Chairmen of the EC delegation Roland Dumas and Jacques Delors were received by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Next the premier and his guests took part in a press conference for Polish and foreign journalists. Our country, he said, looks forward to results of a meeting of EC premiers and foreign ministers starting on Saturday. We expect good news from Paris. I hope that the meeting will end the stage of debates on assistance for Poland, that deeds will follow words.

Solution of the debt problem is one of the most important questions, said the premier in reply to a question. The point is not only in loosening its noose but in taking it of completely. We hope for bold initiatives here. To restore European unity means to realize that Europe cannot be divided economically into developed countries and those that struggle with economic difficulties. It is essential to overcome that division on the road towards one Europe.

Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski also received chairmen of the EC delegation Roland Dumas and Jacques Delors.

In the afternoon the delegation left Warsaw.

Skubiszewski Visits Council of Europe 16 Nov

LD1611213889 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Strasbourg, Nov. 16—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on Thursday paid a visit to the Council of Europe, the first by a head of Polish diplomacy.

Skubiszewski held talks with the Council's Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere, President of the Parliamentary Assembly Anders Bjoerck and with the Council's Committee of Ministers now chaired by Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik. The talks focused on sweeping economic and political transformations in Poland and on its cooperation with the Council of Europe.

In June this year Poland was granted the permanent guest status, so were Hungary, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

While in Strasbourg, Minister Skubiszewski signed a protocol on Poland's accession to the European cultural convention. Respective ratifying documents were also filed. Skubiszewski also signed on behalf of Poland the European Convention on Supra-Border Television and the European Anti-Doping Convention.

Skubiszeqwski also met with his Belgian and Swiss counterparts, Mark Eyskens and Rene Felber, respectively.

During an almost two-hour meeting with members of the Political Committee and the Committee for contacts with European countries not belonging to the Council Skubiszewski pointed to the present developments in Poland as the most important, historic turn in its postwar history. The process of Polish economic and political reforms had an undoubted influence on other Central European countries, the GDR for one, he said.

Presenting the guidelines of Poland's foreign policy, Skubiszewski said that the geo-political situation required from Poland to keep the commitments ensuring from treaties. The government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki pursues his foreign policy on the basis of a full external sovereignty and independence in internal affairs. Relations with the Soviet Union are of particular importance. Poland is going to abide by its treaty- related commitments. This in no way restricts its right to determine the road of economic and political development, Skubiszewski said.

The question of reunification of Germany and the question of postwar borders are two separate problems, he said. Postwar borders are involable and therefore reunification of Germany—for example in the form of a confederation—can only take place on condition of respecting the present state borders, Skubiszewski stressed.

As for Poland's possible membership of the Council of Europe, Skubiszewski expressed the conviction that Poland would soon meet all conditions permitting accession, such as full parliamentary democracy and market economy. Poland is already participating in the work of many an organ of the Council of Europe and is vitally interested in accession to further conventions, he said.

The Polish foreign minister described a visit to Poland between December 5 and 8 by president of the Parliamentary Assembly Anders Bjoerck and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Strasbourg in late January next year as an important stage in cooperation between Poland and the Council of Europe.

Iraq's Interior Minister Arrives for Visit

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD1711030789 Warsaw PAP in English 0049 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Iraqi Internal Minister Samir M.A. al-Wahhab, who is now visiting Poland on the invitation of Polish minister of internal affairs.

Minister S. al-Wahhab and Vice-Premier, Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak, who was also present at the meeting, told the president about the results of the talks and prospects for cooperation between both countries' internal ministries.

During the conversation they also referred to some of the topical questions of the Polish-Iraqi cooperation, especially in the economic sphere, and confirmed the mutual desire to continue its intensification.

Present was Iraqi Ambassador Mohamed al-Haboubi.

Talks With Polish Counterpart

JN1611133089 Baghdad INA in Arabic
1050 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Nov (INA)—Interior Minister Samir Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab has begun talks with the Polish interior minister with a view to bolstering ties of friendship between Iraq and Poland and promoting cooperation between the two ministries.

During the official talks, the Polish minister reviewed Poland's internal economic, political, and social situations, and the Iraqi minister reviewed Iraq's efforts to bring about peace with Iran and rebuild the cities damaged by the war, especially Basra and al-Faw.

The Polish interior minister paid tribute to Iraq's efforts to achieve peace and noted Iraq's importance and outstanding world status.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the relations and cooperation between the Ministries of Interior in Iraq and Poland.

Mr 'Abd-al-Wahhab arrived in Warsaw yesterday evening.

'Stormy' Sejm Discussion on Environment Held

LD1711224189 Warsaw PAP in English
1151 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—The Sejm elected today Mieczyslaw Tyczka chairman of the constitutional tribunal with 213 votes for. Tyczka, professor of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, was proposed for the post by the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and the caucuses of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. His rival, PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group candidate, Kazimierz Dzialocha won 170 votes.

Next deputies interpellations were discussed. The first issue concerned environment damaged on the Polish-Czechoslovak borderline with particular regard to the construction of a coking plant in Stonava which has been disturbing public opinion.

After a stormy discussion, the Sejm decided to turn to the government to work out a firm action plan in this respect, taking account of deputies' suggestions and proposals. It was regarded as necessary to prepare a Polish expertise on Stonava as well as to send a Sejm message on environment protection to citizens of Czechoslovakia and the GDR. The message will be worded by Sejm committees.

Voivodship Councils Meeting on Economic Models

LD1611153289 Warsaw PAP in English
2316 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with chairmen of voivodship people's councils. Present were also Sejm and Senate Speakers Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski respectively and a number of members of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet.

Representatives of the government and the president's office equipped the chairmen with the necessary knowledge on changes in economy, prospects of the situation on the market, concepts of a future model of territorial self-government.

Representatives of the regional organs presented the situation in voivodships, social moods, talked about their approach to reform of territorial self-government.

"While speaking on market economy," stated Vice-Premier, Minister of Finance Leszek Baclerowicz discussing consequences of implementing the government's economic programme.

"In the programme, he said, included are proposals to base economy on the forms of ownership tested in Western countries. Hence it is connected with ownership transformations, privatisation, demonopolisation, setting up a stock exchange."

"Like all economic models, Balcerowicz continued, also that one has its shortcomings. But balancing losses and profits, one must admit that the market model is characterized by efficiency and effectiveness greater than in other ones. With all vices of the centralist system, one of its elements is received positively, namely no fear about loss of work. With the move to market economy, the situation on labour market has to and will be changed."

The vice-premier also said that the coming weeks will see the most intensive work on stabilization plan and on the state budget for next year which should be completed, as planned, by December 7.

Minister of State Piotr Nowina-Konoka presented results of a poll among chairmen of voivodships people's councils and of councils of lower levels. The returns, he said, univocally indicate the mood of dejection and passiveness among the councils' members. Such feelings were evoked, among other things, by subsequent provisoria in which cuts were made in territorial budgets.

The chairmen's opinions on the future of territorial self-government, Nowina-Konopka went on, were not

univocal. They advocated a model of full self-government at the local level but also maintenance of subordination to organs of higher level. Over 40 percent of the chairmen voted for the hitherto model of voivodship authorities.

Further Reaction to Mazowiecki-Miners Stalemate

Miners React to Mazowiecki Plea

AU1711132589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 89 pp 1, 4

["sez"-signed report: "T. Mazowiecki's Appeal Surprises Miners"]

[Text] "....I address an appeal to the miners in this, the nation's need, to undertake Saturday work up to the end of this year and in the first quarter of next year, so that in this way we can increase coal extraction."

These words spoken by Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his television and radio address were at least a surprise to miners. By the end of the first shift on Monday [13 November] none of the unions at Katowice's six coal mines had worked out a final position that had full work-force support on this question.

It is true that the presidium of the "Solidarity" plant commission at the "Wujek" coalmine issued a resolution that contained a favorable response to the premier's hopes, but rank-and-file union members are still to express their view. "Solidarity" at the "Gottwald" coalmine saw there being a possibility of raising Saturday extraction figures to the levels reached on other days of the week, but there was more restraint, if not caution, in the National Trade Union Confederation union concerning an immediate comment on the issue.

These are some of the most typical views expressed by miners:

—"We want to support the new government by working conscientiously, but we want to do so by working Monday through Friday, so that the 'roundtable' decisions are not just fiction."

—"More appeals to miners? Things must be worse than they appeared. Who knows whether we will achieve much with these appeals. After all, we have already had them in the past. We know how that ended...."

—"Time and time again the government, the Sejm, and the Senate make demands on the mining industry, but we still cannot achieve the reforms that we want. Whenever coal is in short supply, miners' patriotism is put to the test."

There is a lot of bitterness in these words. This is because miners, more than anyone else, realize that the issues in the industry require comprehensive solutions and not just a one-shot response to this one appeal as winter draws closer. This is also the tone of the stances on the premier's appeal that were adopted by the presidium of the "Solidarity" National Mining Commission and by the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions.

PZPR Spokesman on Appeal

AU1711133589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 89 p 4

[Statement issued by unidentified Party Central Committee spokesman—date and place not given]

[Text] Premier T. Mazowiecki's appeal to miners on increasing coal extraction and Saturday working concerns a matter that is of vital importance for all of society. We have always believed that coal was the key raw material determining the state of the Polish economy and that a fall in extraction levels would have a drastic effect on municipal services, transportation, and industry.

Debate, demands, and pressure have centered on the subject of Saturday holidays for years. Successive governments and party leaderships have recognized miners' rights to free Saturdays. However, in view of the state of the Polish economy, opportunities for immediately increasing coal extraction by extending working time at mines have been sought. Various incentives have been employed with the aim of encouraging miners to work Saturdays. This policy, which was promoted by the Jaruzelski government in 1981, was attacked by "Solidarity." The scrapping of Saturday working for miners was resolutely attacked.

During the "roundtable," the Federation of Miners' Unions asked for an end to the mining of coal on Saturdays. We accepted the decisions made at the "roundtable," including the respecting of the miners' right to a day of rest on Saturday, for the sake of national accord. The Rakowski government implemented this request from the trade unions, from both National Trade Union Confederation and "Solidarity" unions.

These agreements can be changed by miners themselves or their representatives.

The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] appreciates the need to increase coal extraction today just as it did in the past. Increasing extraction will depend on the commitment and skills of miners.

Their commitment and additional effort must be closely linked with an improvement in working conditions and living standards, and managers should not be made the targets of attacks that are politically motivated.

Majority of Miners Support Request

LD1711223789 Warsaw PAP in English 2033 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Katowice, Nov 17—The National Mining Committee of the Solidarity Trade Union met here on Friday

to adopt a joint stand in the wake of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's appeal for increased coal extraction in winter time.

The participants stressed that the prime minister's appeal should be viewed as a call to increase coal extraction in general and not only on Saturdays. If it turns out that the country's demand for coal requires cuts in coal exports, this will mean a diaster for Poland, they argued.

Even though there were those who said that miners in certain pits ignored the appeal, the "Myslowice" for one, the decisive majority showed understanding and support for Prime Minister Mazowiecki. However, not all mines have conditions to increase output, it was stressed at the meeting.

Miners Respond to Appeal

LD1911225289 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Katowice, Nov. 19—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's appeal to miners to work on Saturdays has resulted in higher coal extraction.

Compared with Saturdays in the last three months, coal extraction yesterday was higher by 116 thousand tons and totalled 415.8 thousand tons of coal. An overall 148 thousand-plus people worked in all mines. This is 73.3 percent as compared with last Friday. Over 21 thousand miners worked underground, by 3 thousand more than two weeks ago.

Collective Grave Uncovered in Zamosc Voivodship

LD1711204389 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Zamosc, Nov 17—A second collective forest grave from the early postwar years was unearthed in the village of Jacnia near Krasnobrod in the Zamosc Voivodship, south-eastern Poland. Examination of the first tombs, carried out over the past few days, showed that the grave contained about fifteen massacred human bodies.

Preliminary findings made by members of the Zbowid War Veterans' Union Historical Commissions and the Zamosc Council for Remembrance of Struggle and Martyrdom show that thirty political prisoners from Zamosc were carried to this place most probably on October 31, 1945 (possibly a year earlier or a year later). Next, these persons were executed and their corpses were massacred [as received].

Possibly the employees of the then Zamosc security office are to blame for this crime, but deputy of the Zamosc Voivodship prosecutor Janusz Kalicki stresses that it is also possible that the buried persons were not murdered on the order of the Security Office. They could have been killed under a legally valid sentence of the then Zamosc Military Court.

The only ground to start investigative procedure would be to preliminarily qualify the committed deed as a crime against mankind, but there are no grounds now to adopt such a version, the deputy prosecutor said.

Sejm Commissions Approve ORMO Dissolution

LD1611234989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The Commission for Administration and Internal Affairs and the Legislative Commission, which had a meeting after the Sejm session, adopted a draft law on the disbanding of the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Civic Militia]. The bill, although under discussion for the second time, aroused emotions again. The issues related to the taking over of assets owned by the ORMO gave rise to discussion. In the end, it was agreed that ORMO assets would be taken over by the state treasury in a manner defined by the Council of Ministers.

The commissions approved the government bill on amendments to the law concerning the organisation and scope of activity of some supreme and central bodies of state administration.

Militia Security Service Seeks Public Trust

LD1611043389 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—The independent nationwide Board of the Councils of Civil Militia (MO) and Security Service (SB) functionaries released a communique which says in parts:

The Independent Nationwide Board of the Councils of Civil Militia and Security Service Functionaries held a conference in Warsaw on November 6, 1989. The discussants focused on problems connected with the changes taking place in Poland and with new conditions they set for the functioning of the Internal Ministry under new situation.

They said the basic task was now to regain public confidence in the law enforcement organs which is possible if the functionaries unconditionally respect law, law-abidingness, and constitutional order, and if their duties are totally subordinated to the protection of the interests of a democratic state and society.

The functionaries were informed about the initiated measures aimed at materialising these plans in an open letter of November 7, 1989.

Poll Results on Confidence in Institutions

LD1511135189 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Poles declared their confidence in the Roman Catholic Church (87 per cent), the Sejm (71 per cent), and the Army (70 per cent), according to findings of the radio committee's public

opinion polling centre which probed Poles on their confidence in individual institutions and social and political organizations in Poland, last October.

Other institutions trusted by Poles were: the Senate (69 per cent), the government (68 per cent) and Solidarnosc (66 per cent of such answers).

Every third polled person (34 per cent) voiced his confidence in the UPP [United Peasants Party], the Democratic Party, the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (33 per cent for each of them) and 11 per cent of respondents declared their confidence in the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party].

Poll Shows Public Confidence in Government

AU1511164489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 4

[Waldemar Mickiewicz report: "Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Government in Light of Public Opinion Polls—A Large Degree of Public Confidence"]

[Text] The recently published communique containing the results of the opinion poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center (a research unit of Polish Radio and Television) shows that after some 2 months in office, Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government enjoys a high degree of public confidence. Asked to give a general appraisal of the government's performance, of those polled, 11 percent said it is very good; 62 percent said it is quite good; 7 percent said it is rather poor; 2 percent said it is very bad; and 18 percent were undecided.

The poll was carried out on 23 and 24 October, less than 3 weeks after the publication of the government's economic program. This might explain why knowledge of the economic program is poor. Of those polled 1 percent said they had detailed knowledge of the program; 13 percent said they had quite detailed knowledge; and 82 percent had only vague knowledge or had no knowledge about it whatsoever. Among those who professed some knowledge of the government's economic intentions 65 percent were in favor; 7 percent were against; and 27 percent did not know.

It is notable that those polled saw their material situation, at present and in the immediate future, as bleak. Only 7 percent described it as good; 53 percent considered it tolerable or average; and 40 percent described it as bad. Compared to identical questions that were asked in April 1989, the number of those who described their situation as good has fallen by 4 percent. The number of those who consider their situation as average has fallen by 5 percent, and the number of those who consider their situation as bad has risen from 31 percent to 40 percent.

Only 13 percent of those polled think that their material situation will improve in the coming year. Some 28 percent consider that things will get better in 2 years, but 45 percent maintain that their situation will deteriorate in the coming year, and 16 percent claim that it will be even worse after 2 years.

However, these somewhat pessimistic estimates of the material situation, at present and for the immediate future, have not increased society's acceptance of increased strike activity. An overwhelming majority of those polled—79 percent—consider strikes to be inappropriate and only 14 percent consider strike action as appropriate.

Analogous public opinion polls a year ago showed that 44 percent considered strike action valid and 38 thought them to be inappropriate.

Summing up these results, the authors of the communique come to the conclusion that social acceptance of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is based not so much on knowledge as on faith in the government's intentions and in its capabilities.

Mazowiecki on Possible Divisions in Solidarity

LD2910215289 Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 29 Oct 89

[By PAP Correspondent Ryszard Ginalski]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—In an interview granted to Pilar Diez, a correspondent of the Spanish CAMBIO 16, Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated in part: "The fact that Solidarnosc is more coalition- than trade union-like, is very positive and can contribute to its existence. It is true that differences and tension can surface but at present we are faced with a tremendous task of the country's advancement while we will speak about these differences later."

"Solidarnosc as a trade union and social movement is a very complex organization in which various divisions will most probably surface. I think that this is a normal process and that it could take place at some moment."

PZPR's Foreign Affairs Chief Interviewed

PM1411105689 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 21 Oct 89 p 13

[Interview with Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Natorf by Bohdan Herbich—date and place not given]

[Text] [Herbich] After the changes in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leadership, you were appointed secretary for international affairs. It was a foregone conclusion that the new first secretary would have a decisive vote in selecting his closest aides, but you were at the time ambassador to Moscow and many people associated your appointment with that fact. Since your function involved close proximity with the Kremlin, you were seen as a man who was supposed to lend credibility

to the changes—and not only personnel changes—taking place within the PZPR. Would you like to comment on this conclusion?

[Natorf] You should ask Mieczyslaw Rakowski what his motives were for nominating me for this office. Decisions made at the plenum were made rapidly and without consultation, and I can tell you that I was not asked for my opinion beforehand, either. But the first secretary, by his own admission, was investing in a combination of youth and experience. Since I am a grandfather four times over, I certainly do not qualify for the former category, but I would lay claim to the latter. Not to be excessively modest, I can say that I am an expert and a professional with regard to international affairs. My latest post in Moscow was undoubtedly an important one, and this fact did perhaps play a significant part. But before that I was ambassador to the UN at the time martial law was proclaimed, and that was not an easy office to hold just then. I was twice head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department and, all in all, I spent more than 30 years of my life in the Foreign Affairs Ministry where, among other things, I was involved with issues concerning the Warsaw Treaty. The Warsaw Treaty, incidentally, was the subject of a significant passage in the part of Premier Mazowiecki's inaugural speech which dealt with the new government's foreign policy. And since the party wants to aid the government, a party secretary who is a communist of 40 years' standing and an experienced professional in international affairs is an obvious choice for the post.

[Herbich] Your debut in your new post was accompanied by a lot of publicity, even though it took place behind the scenes rather than center stage, and the reviews were much delayed. Soon after you assumed your office an event took place in which your professional experience must have been an invaluable asset. I am thinking of the exchange of documents between the Polish and Romanian parties. This took place in August but we only learned about it in late September—and not from a party organ either. Many people commented that, even with a fait accompli like that, they would have preferred to find out about it from a first-hand account rather than a press leak. Why were these documents not published openly?

[Natorf] We live in an era of glasnost. We are convinced that the press should be free to write about everything. However, there are—and there must be—exceptions to this rule. Everywhere in the world there are archives which have to wait for decades before they can be made accessible to the public. These are the rules of the game.

[Herbich] If you want to keep things secret, you ought to guard the keys to the safe better.

[Natorf] We guard the keys to our safes well enough. But at the moment the situation in the country has changed. If our coalition partners fail to observe the universally accepted principles in these changed circumstances, Poland's position will consequently suffer—and this, in relations not only with the socialist countries but also with the West. We can destroy our own credibility if we do not observe the confidentiality of a whole range of talks, agreements, and so on. As regards the matter in question, its nature demanded that, although the talks took place between the two parties, diplomatic channels be used. The Romanian party's Central Committee secretary summoned our ambassador, and, in a converse move—a fact I can reveal now—I was the one who personally conveyed the reply to the Romanian ambassador.

[Herbich] The talks took place between the two parties, but their subject matter, after all, went beyond the confines of party concerns: It involved our entire country, not just the PZPR. Some foreign commentators saw Romania's behavior as an attempt to resurrect the Brezhnev doctrine.

[Natorf] I can tell you that after our side stated our position, the Romanian side reviewed its assessments. I base this opinion, among other things, on personal talks I held with Romanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary Comrade Stoian a month later on the occasion of the Varna conference. Within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Romania has always maintained a moderate stand on the question of joint actions and has always talked about the policy of self-determination. Its proposals were therefore all the more inappropriate. I believe that the whole affair should be treated as a misunderstanding which arose as a result of the Romanian side's unfamiliarity with the realities of the situation in our country. I think that our immediate reaction and the firm adherence to fundamental principles demonstrated in our declared position—which was also recognized by the remaining Warsaw Treaty countries—were instrumental in bringing the matter to a close. It can now be regarded as never having arisen—a position which I also found confirmed during my talks in Varna. We will continue to develop our contacts and regulate them so that they assist, rather than hinder, the desired stabilization of the situation in Poland.

[Herbich] All this would have been received very differently by the public if some explanatory comment had been made, even after the story was leaked. But the statement delivered by the Central Committee press spokesman did nothing to clarify the matter: On the contrary, it clouded it even further.

[Natorf] Given what we have just discussed here, it should be quite obvious that he could not have said anything else.

[Herbich] But the little he did say could still have been put differently. Instead, we heard a classic example of an announcement in the old, newspeak style: "exchange of views," "normal practice," and so on. If an offer such as that put forward in the Romanian document is defined as "normal practice" and, in addition, is supposed to "serve the interests of our nation and state," then I am sorry, but I do not want to know. You simply cannot use

this style and language any more when you speak to people: The reaction you get will be exactly the opposite of what you expect.

[Natorf] Perhaps the form of the statement could indeed be badly received by the public. But the statement was nonetheless correct in its content because it presented the question of our credibility in unequivocal terms.

[Herbich] Given the new political situation, how do you see the role of the PZPR Central Committee secretary for international affairs? In the old days everything was much simpler, because the party was the ruling power. Today you are the foreign affairs secretary of just one of the existing parties. Apart from this, there also are the following: the minister of state at the president's office, the foreign minister, the Premier's foreign policy adviser, and the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission.

[Natorf] I have only recently assumed my present office and I am only beginning to take my first steps here. But I can already tell you about my ideas and my plans, which are all based on a set of fundamental premises. Premier Mazowiecki said that professionalism is the the primary criterion in assessing personnel qualifications. It must be admitted that party members were highly privileged in this respect. The same applies to our foreign service personnel. I know these circles well; I myself served as ambassador three times and I can offer you competent judgment in this respect. I can say the same about the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department. It is at present run by a former deputy foreign minister, and his deputies have also spent many years in the foreign service. We are a substantive partner for a number of foreign government and state agencies and we also represent our country's interests abroad.

Throughout the world political parties have a lot to say about the exercise of power in their respective states. This applies to the parties of the Left, too. At the moment their influence is predominant in the socialist countries. If our present government were to abandon the practice of exploiting party channels in its relations with the socialist countries (and not only these: also with the nonaligned countries in which the Left is in power), it would be making a serious mistake. After all, it does exploit Solidarity's contacts in the West. Consequently, there are extensive possibilities for making use of our contacts, too. And these are not limited to those that I mentioned earlier, either. Over long years our party has maintained good contacts with the broadly interpreted Left: socialists, social democrats, and so on. We, too, want to place our potential and our ability at the new government's service, to assist the implementation of extensive transformations in Poland and to help in concrete political matters.

Naturally there are certain new features, like, for example, the function of president, understood as a new development in the exercise of power. We are only at the initial stage of the process whereby new forms of cooperation, contacts, and agreements are forged. For example, during the previous era we signed a large number of interparty agreements with communist parties in the socialist countries. These agreements concerned cooperation in the spheres of both party and governmental concerns, such as culture, science and learning, tourism, and so on. The question arises whether as a result of the opposition's accession to power in Poland we should now back out of these agreements, considering that our foreign partners in these agreements are still in power and abide by the agreements. I hope the new ministers will see fit to take advantage of them.

[Herbich] You mentioned our foreign service personnel. One of the issues which provoked many controversies in the past and which still remains a contentious area is precisely our personnel policy. In your field this involves mainly the question of appointments to foreign posts, from ambassador downward. It used to be an open secret that heretofore the party treated these posts as being at its exclusive disposal.

[Natorf] I have examined the principles of personnel policy in many countries. As a rule, the diplomatic service has two currents: the professional and the political. And in that second current it is often the practice to send "our men" as high-ranking diplomats to represent our country.

[Herbich] There is a slight difference here. You are thinking of a situation similar to that in the United States, where they have the so-called "spoils system" according to which after an election victory by either party—Republicans or Democrats—those previously outside the power apparatus who have contributed to their party's success are rewarded with more or less prestigious ambassadorial posts, according to the degree of their contribution. Our system is based on a different principle. Ambassadorial appointments were often given to politicians who had been "sidelined," for a variety of reasons. We could quote many names here, but this is not the most important point. The point is that even though the leading teams changed, the principle remained in force. You could even find a certain regularity here: Ambassadorial appointments were given to those who previously held high political offices, but the appointment was conferred on them as a form of "punishment," so to speak. On the other hand, promotion to foreign service posts of the lower-ranking employees of the apparatus—for example, those working in its local structures—was a recognized form of reward. The question of the candidates' qualifications—or, rather, absence of qualifications—was an entirely separate issue, to say nothing of the cardinal Polish sin: the virtually universal ignorance of foreign languages, which can, after all, be a serious drawback in a foreign diplomatic post.

[Natorf] Any diplomat, and especially any high-ranking diplomat, must represent his country even if he has not been professionally trained for the job—but for this he must have the necessary personal skills, communicativeness, ability to master new problems, and command of

the language. I know most of our foreign service personnel quite well and I know that, as a group, they do meet the necessary professional requirements. So it would be risky to make sweeping generalizations here. I do not mean by this that no mistakes have ever been made. They were made if the person appointed had absolutely no political or personal skills necessary for the job and if—which is worse—he felt not like an emissary of his government but like a reject. Then he could do more harm than good in his office because he would feel wronged and defeated.

[Herbich] Since we have already discussed individual mistakes, let us also consider certain more general, collective mistakes. What do you think about the tendency—frequently encountered in relations between the communist parties in socialist countries—to criticize one another's actions, chosen course, or changes introduced in the political and economic spheres? It is not particularly difficult to notice these differences between the USSR, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, or Czechoslovakia...

[Natorf] There was a time when we were aware of the differences but pretended that there was complete unanimity and consensus among us. Now, when the differences are coming into the open, we are getting terribly worried and would like unanimity to prevail again. In fact it is the artificiality of the presumed consensus that has been exploded here. Also, in our case the anxiety we feel about the lack of unanimity is rooted in our messianic leanings, whereby we would like to be the ultimate model and shining example to everybody else....

[Herbich] I would say, rather, that it is the other way round: Our closest neighbors are watching us suspiciously and putting forward their own models as the only correct ones.

[Natorf] Let us simply say that they are watching us critically. They have every right to do so, just as we do. Unquestionably, they have a higher level of prosperity and we have more freedoms. Which is the means and which is the end? They should really be interchangeable. But let us leave this question to the future: It will decide who should be the first to arrive at the ideal solution, that is, both prosperity and freedom.

[Herbich] In that case, let me ask you a personal question: How do you see the PZPR's future? I am asking you not as a Central Committee secretary but as a party member and communist of 40 years' standing.

[Natorf] This personal angle in your question suits me very well. You become a party secretary by appointment, which may or may not be temporary, whereas you remain a party member by allegiance. I joined the party as a young man. I come from Lodz, a truly proletarian city which experienced housing shortages, unemployment, and real and desperate poverty. Later I spent many years in the world's wealthiest countries, such as the United States or Switzerland, where I held the office of ambassador. Although I can admit to being fascinated by the living standards and the sheer efficiency of the capitalist system, I will not renounce the communist ideals. Not even the Catholic ethic, with which I became familiar in my young days, has offered me a more worthwhile goal than the ideals of socialism. But ideals must be firmly rooted in reality. From what I have learned of history I know that no political party can survive intact if there is disunity within it. We must our utmost to square our accounts and put the past errors in our party practice firmly behind us. We should leave everything that was good. We must work out a long-term program for the party. The party can only renew itself by implementing a new program, not by renouncing old practices alone. Provided that we can base our campaign on these premises, we will establish a party that can regain its previous position.

[Herbich] Position or power?

[Natorf] Every political force always strives for power. When it has power, it wants to keep it. When it loses its power, it wants to regain it. In the future we also can fight to regain power. Not for the sake of our own interests but for the good of the country.

[Herbich] Thank you for talking to us.

Italian Press Reports Jaruzelski Interview

LD1910182389 Warsaw PAP in English 1705 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Rome, Oct 19—The Italian daily LA REPUBBLICA reports on an extensive interview that President Wojciech Jaruzelski gave to the Italian news agency ANSA. In his interview, the president voiced support for a reformatory line of the Polish coalition government, saying that economic crisis and the possibility of the emergence of the activity of extremist forces and excessive haste were the greatest threats that could harm the democratization process in Poland. Despite its entire complexity, the process of reforms seems to be irreversible.

The president stresses also that the Soviet Union's support for the Mazowiecki government would depend on the way in which the premier would be able to guarantee fruitful and positive cooperation with that state. The president voices also his conviction in an interview that "in Poland it is impossible to make a retreat from the democratization process," LA REPUBBLICA says.

Discussing relations with Italy, Jaruzelski stressed that he deemed them the "model" ones and worthy of being imitated.

Excerpts of the interview are quoted also by some other Italian dailies, including the organ of the Italian Communist Party UNITA.

Jaruzelski Receives Consumer Union Delegation

LD1711025689 Warsaw PAP in English 0050 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a delegation of the International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU) with its chairman Ms Rhoda Karpatkin.

The IOCU groups 166 consumer unions from 62 countries, the Polish Consumers Federation among them.

The president referred with particular interest to the information on protection of the poorest social groups conducted by the consumers movement. He also conveyed to the dealegation the best wishes of further, fruitful work for society's sake.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-13 Nov

AU1711151489

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 9 to 15 November reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses): Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Central Committee, met with the Warsaw area PZPR Committee secretaries in Warsaw, on 8 November. (9 Nov 89 p 1) He received the board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and its chairman Professor Henryk Bednarski in Warsaw. (9 Nov 89 p 2) He attended a meeting of PZPR members in Zalesie, Bydgoszcz Voivodship, and later a meeting of PZPR members at the Polish State Railways Repair Workshops in Bydgoszcz. (10-12 Nov 89 pp 1, 2)

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, received representatives of an IMF delegation, and Massimo Russo, head of the IMF's European department in Warsaw, on 8 November. (9 Nov 89 p 6) He also received Alina Pienkowska, chairperson of "Solidarity's" National Coordination Committee of Health Service Workers in Warsaw, on 8 November. (9 Nov 89 p 6) He received Ryszard Karski, Polish Ambassador to the FRG, on 9 November. (10-12 Nov 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski, received Ryszard Karski, Polish Ambassador to the FRG, on 9 November. (10-12 Nov 89 p 2) He received 75 newly nominated professors at a the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw, on 13 November. (14 Nov 89 p 1)

Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary recieved GDR Ambassador Juergen von Zwoll, on 9 November. (10-12 Nov 89 p 2) He attended a meeting of the TRYBUNA LUDU PZPR Committee, on 10 November. (13 Nov 89 pp 1, 3) He attended a plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, on 13 November. (14 Nov 89 p 7)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, attended a meeting of party workers at the Sianow Match Factory, Koszalin Voivodship, on 8 November; he attended a meeting of Koszalin lawyers, on 8 November; and he attended a meeting of parliamentary deputies from the Koszalin Voivodship, on 8 November. (9 Nov 89 p 2) He attended 6 meetings of Koszalin Voivodship electors. (15 Nov 89 p 5)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, attended the ceremony commemorating the 71st anniversary of Polish Independence Day, on 11 November. (13 Nov 89 p 1)

Iwona Lubowska, Politburo member, attended a plenary session of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship PZPR Committee, on 13 November. (14 Nov 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Balicki, Politburo candidate member, attended a plenary session of the Walbrzych Voivodship PZPR Committee in Walbrzych, on 8 November. (9 Nov 89 p 2)

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Central Committeee secretary, received GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll, on 13 November. (14 Nov 89 p 4)

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, received Jacques Hopf, proprietor of the company Solco Basel AG, and J. Buechner, the company's representative in Poland. (10-12 Nov 89 p 2)

Ceausescu Message to Bulgaria's Mladenov

AU1711203389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Report on message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party—date and place not given]

[Text] On the election of Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, as chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu sent the following cable:

Esteemed Comrade Petur Mladenov, on behalf of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and on my own behalf, I want to extend warm congratulations and best wishes on your election to the high position of chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In highly appreciating the traditional relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries and people, I want to express the firm conviction that by working together Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation will continue to expand constantly in our mutual interests and to the benefit of the cause of socialism, peace, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

I wish you, esteemed Comrade Mladenov, as well as the whole Bulgarian people fresh successes in building the socialist society in your homeland and in constantly strengthening the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the telegram sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, concludes.

Newspaper Reports Mladenov's Speech

AU1611120889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Nov 89 p 6

[AGERPRES report: "Renewing Process—Only Within the Framework, in the Name, and Along the Road of Socialism. Speech by Bulgarian Comrade Petur Mladenov at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party"]

[Text] Sofia, 11 November (AGERPRES)—Taking the floor at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, emphasized that Bulgaria is currently acting to turn into a modern socialist state. The renewing process that is under way in the country is taking place only and exclusively within the framework of socialism, in the name of socialism, and along the road to socialism. This implies, he said, active dialogue with the people both in discussing important social problems and in adopting the most important decisions, BTA reports.

The BCP, as part and parcel of the Bulgarian people and as political force with deep roots in the national history, will continue to be the vanguard and leading force of society, the speaker stressed.

Our country's domestic and foreign policy, the BCP Central Committee general secretary said, is based and will continue to be based on the unity of the Bulgarian nation, on work and moral virtues, and on the knowledge and skill of the workers class, agricultural workers, and intellectuals.

Referring to problems of Bulgaria's foreign policy, the speaker stressed: Our country will continue to unflinchingly fulfill the tasks resting on it within the framework of international understandings. We sincerely encourage and support the buds of newness in international relations, whose aim is to eliminate nuclear threat and, in general, any kind of war threat, confrontation, and at building a peaceful and nonviolent world.

A priority direction of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is its close cooperation with the other socialist countries, Petur Mladenov emphasized in his speech.

Media Coverage of GDR Situation Noted

AU1311151189

[Editorial Report] Coverage of latest events in GDR, triggered off by Erich Honecker's resignation on 18 October, in the Romanian media monitored by Austria Bureau through 13 November has been very sparse. Bucharest media have not been observed to report on the demonstrations in GDR towns and the accelerated pace of the wave of emigration from the GDR, which precipitated the upheaval in that country.

Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1800 GMT on 18 October carries its first and only report on developments in the GDR in a terse, 1-minute long factual report on the "Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)," which "accepted" Erich Honecker's resignation "for health reasons" and "unanimously" elected Egon Krenz as general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR State Council. This report is carried in identical form by both dailies Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 19 October on page 6 in a 300-word item, which adds that the plenum also "released" Politburo members Guenter Mittag and Joachim Herrmann from their party-state positions. Both dailies on that day also publish the 300-word text of "Comrade Erich Honecker's Statement to the SED Central Committee Plenum," announcing his retirement and wishing the party to "consolidate its unity and cohesion;" a brief, 300-word biography of Egon Krenz; and Nicolae Ceausescu's congratulatory cable to the new GDR party-state leader, this being the only monitored AGERPRES item on GDR events

The next mention of the GDR in the Romanian media is on 1 November, when the Bucharest dailies SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA both carry an identical 30-word factual report on Egon Krenz's arrival in Moscow "on a working visit, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee." On 2 November both dailies carry an identical Moscow AGERPRES-datelined and TASS-attributed 200-word report on the Krenz-Gorbachev talks in Moscow on "processes taking place in the two countries," adding that "the sides expressed the mutual desire to expand and develop party, state, and public contacts." Bucharest radio has not been observed to report on Egon Krenz's visit to Moscow.

Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 10 November carry Egon Krenz's 150-word cable of thanks to Ceausescu for congratulations on his election. On 11 November, both dailies carry an identical 200-word factual report on the 10 November SED Central Committee plenum and the changes in the SED Politburo, including the proposal that Hans Modrow be appointed chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Bucharest radio has again kept silent on these developments.

None of the reports in the Romanian media cite any overt criticism of the previous GDR leadership or mention any remarks by the new GDR leaders on their intent to democratize life in the GDR.

Protocol on Trade Exchanges With GDR Signed

AU1611205989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/11/1989—A protocol was signed on November 16 in Bucharest between the Government of Romania and the Government of the GDR on goods deliveries in 1990. The document records new measures and actions meant to lead to a tangible increase of bilateral goods exchanges in the interests of the two countries' economies.

The protocol was signed by Stefan Stancu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Dietrich Lemke, deputy minister of foreign trade of the GDR.

The ceremony was attended by Ioan Ungur, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Herbert Plaschke, GDR ambassador in Bucharest.

Goods, Payments Protocol Signed With CSSR

AU1311202989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Prague AGERPRES, 13/11/1989—A protocol on goods exchanges and payments in 1990 between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was signed in Prague. The provisions of the document secure the further growth of bilateral goods exchanges.

Danish CP Greeted on Anniversary

AU1511091389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Nov 89 p 6

[Message from the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee to the Communist Party of Denmark Central Committee on its founding anniversary—date and place not given]

[Text] To the Communist Party of Denmark Central Committee, Copenhagen

Dear Comrades: On the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Denmark, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the working people in Romania, we convey to you, the Danish Communists, warm greetings and best wishes for success in your activity devoted to the promotion of the fundamental aspiration for well-being and social justice of the working people and of the whole Danish nation.

We take this opportunity to recall the relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity established between our parties and, at the same time, we express our belief that these relations will continue to develop in the future, for the benefit of our parties and countries and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

The RCP Central Committee

Delegate Addresses UN on Role of Information

AU1011214289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 10/11/1989—Taking the floor during the talks on the role of information in the contemporary world conducted in the special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly, Romania's permanent representative to the UN, Petre Tanasie, highlighted the importance of mass media in the promotion of peace, understanding and collaboration and stated for the establishment of a new world order in the field of information and communications.

The Romanian representative underscored the responsibility incumbent on governments, governmental and non-governmental organizations and on mass media in all countries for the promotion of the ideals of friendship, rapprochement and mutual respect between states and peoples, by correctly and objectively reflecting each country's accomplishments and the peoples' efforts for their economic and social progress, in line with their own aspirations and with the specific conditions in their respective countries. The speaker called attention to the negative effects in the international life of the distortion of realities in one country or another, of subjectivism and of the deliberate ignoration of the efforts each people makes for its economic and social progress.

Romania's representative requested the UN to intensify its activity to support the developing countries to develop their own information system to narrow and

bridge the existing gap in the area on an international plane, to place information in the service of the peoples, of their understanding and collaboration.

Plenum Endorses Report for 14th Congress

AU1811205889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/11/1989—A plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] took place on November 18 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

The full and alternate members of the CC of the RCP and of the Central Auditing Commission participated.

The plenum unanimously endorsed the orientations and provisions comprised in the report on the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, on the activity of the Central Committee between the 13th and 14th Congress, on the fulfillment of the master-program of socio-economic development in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period and in the longer run, by 2000-2010, in view of steadily fulfilling the program of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism. It was decided that the report should be presented to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The plenum assessed highly the decisive contribution of the RCP general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu to the working out of the program-like documents of the 14th Congress of the RCP—documents of outstanding importance for the nation's destiny, for its present and future—his essential role in substantiating and implementing the home and foreign policy of the RCP and Romanian state, in establishing the targets and orientations of Romania's socialist development, based on a profound knowledge of realities, on the steady application of the principles of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions in Romania, in view of steadily raising the living standard and civilization level of the whole people, of steadily translating into life the party program of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and of advance of the homeland to communism.

An account on the preparations for the 14th Congress was presented during the plenum proceedings. It was assessed that the report and election general meetings and conferences of the party organizations—commune, town, city and county ones—occasioned a broad debate of the draft documents for the 14th Congress and expressed powerfully the unity of will and action of the whole party around its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian people's firm determination to do everything possible to ensure the homeland's multilateral progress, the steady implementation of the targets to be established by the great forum of Romanian Communists.

In concluding, considering that that was the last plenary meeting of the current CC, Nicolae Ceausescu assessed highly the activity of the Central Committee—as a collective body—of the party bodies and organizations, that discharged in good conditions the tasks entrusted by the 13th Congress, ensuring the steady implementation of Romania's development programs, of the party's and state's whole home and foreign policy.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked all members of the Central Committee for the activity done both in the party's Central Committee and each and everyone in his or her domain of activity, and wished them success in their future activity, in discharging the tasks they will be entrusted by the party.

Ceausescu's Speech to Bucharest Committee

AU1411091789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu's at the meeting of the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee on 9 November]

[Text] Dear comrades: I want to begin by extending, on behalf of the party Central Committee and on my own behalf, warm, revolutionary greetings to all participants in the conference of the Bucharest party organization, together with wishes for ever greater successes in all activities! (loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

The party organizations, the conferences, and the Bucharest municipal conference of the party organization have discussed at length the documents for the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

Likewise, all working people and all citizens of Bucharest Municipality, as in fact all people throughout the country, have participated in these discussions in enterprises, institutions, and in districts. Thus, one can say that the documents that were unanimously endorsed today by the conference reflect the unanimity of the Communists and of all Bucharest residents who are very familiar with the great achievements attained by our people and thus by our homeland's capital, they are familiar with socialist development as a whole and unanimously agreed with the long-term programs that ensure Romania's progress toward new heights of progress and civilization and the unflinching implementation of the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. (loud applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu—Romania, our esteem and pride!" and "Ceausescu—heroism, Romania—communism!")

As the comrades who took the floor at the conference emphasized, the party organization and the working people of our capital this year have attained important achievements in all areas and are coming to the 14th RCP Congress with these, and have even exceeded the

plan in industry and other areas to a certain extent. It goes without saying that these are positive results which demonstrate the strength of the party organization and of the workers and intellectuals in Bucharest, and of the peasantry in Ilfov, who are working with determination to fulfill this year's plan and the overall 5-year plan, thus making an important contribution to our homeland's development in general. This is also conditioned by the fact that industry in Bucharest represents 13 percent of Romanian industry as a whole.

For these achievements, I would like to convey warm congratulations to all working people in Bucharest and wish them success in fulfilling the overall 5-year plan, thus ensuring conditions for proper growth in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. (loud cheers, applause; long chants of "We will work and struggle to raise up our country!")

The congress will take stock of our homeland's general development in the 45 years that have elapsed since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation; we will be able to emphasize the great achievements in socialist development and in Romania's change from a poorly developed country to an advanced industrial-agrarian country, and to a socialist country in full progress in which the basic principles of socialist ethics and equity, of justice, and genuine equality among all citizens of our homeland are being applied in an ever better way. (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Within this framework, I would like to briefly talk about the changes and achievements of our homeland's capital. I have known Bucharest for 60 years. I am familiar with its past industry, because during our revolutionary activity we had party, youth, and trade union organizations in almost all basic industrial units in Bucharest, including university centers. Thus, I know what Bucharest was like in the past and many of you recall what industry looked like after 23 August [1944]. However, figures sometimes are the best proof. Today the fixed assets of our homeland's capital amount—if we bear in mind what will be achieved this year—to more than 450 billion lei compared with only 83 billion lei in 1965. I do not want to talk about 1945, because at that time they were very, very low.

In this period following the Ninth RCP Congress, industrial production will total—at the end of the current year—more than 200 billion lei compared with some 29 billion in 1965 and with only a few billion in 1945. These figures vigorously emphasize the great achievements in the development of modern industry in our homeland's capital. As a matter of fact, numerous comrades from a few enterprises of national importance, not only of importance for Bucharest, have taken the floor here: From Grivita Rosie, Republica, the Garments and Knitwear Enterprise, Electronica, and the Energy Equipment Combine—although I personally would like to preserve its old name of heavy equipment, because it does not only manufacture energy equipment—which manufacture highly technical products. I am talking only of those units which I visited yesterday. However, I cannot help mentioning 23 August Enterprise which also plays a special role in our national economy. And there are numerous such enterprises in our capital.

The almost seven-fold increase in fixed assets and industrial output over 24 years demonstrates the special effort made by our state to implement the policy of developing the forces of production and the ownership of the whole nation; I am stressing this because we usually talk about state ownership. Actually, the state is not the owner; the state manages things on behalf of the whole people. The genuine owner of our entire industry and of everything that is being achieved and accomplished in our country is the nation! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers)

The whole of Bucharest has completely changed. After 1965 alone—calculated up to the end of the current year—some 560,000 apartments were built, and together with those to be built next year, that is at the end of the current 5-year plan, 600,000 apartments will have been built in Bucharest between 1965-1990. Were we to calculate only three residents per apartment, this would mean—on an average—that in 25 years alone almost 90 percent of Bucharest's residents will live in new apartments!

Just a few countries can boast such results! And since I have visited very many states, I believe that there is no capital in any country that has experienced such a rate of housing construction. As you well know, we have developed and built a great deal throughout the country, thus demonstrating that there is complete unity between our words and deeds, that when we say that we are building socialism with the people and for the people, it is not a general, theoretical phrase, but the reality of party activity and of our society, which is doing all it can for man and for his well-being and happiness. (loud, prolonged cheers, applause; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

In complete unanimity, the conference endorsed the Program-Directive that is to be submitted for approval to the 14th RCP Congress and, on this basis, adopted—also in complete unanimity—a program on Bucharest's future development.

You are very well acquainted with the provisions of the Program-Directive for the next 5-year plan and, in fact, for the coming 20 years up to the year 2000-10. By 1995 Bucharest's industry has to achieve an output of at least 350-360 billion lei. However, figures as such do not tell you anything, because this output has to be borne in mind in close connection with the fulfillment of itemized production. These hundreds of billions of lei have to be based on highly technical equipment, steel, various high-quality products in metallurgy, electronics, electrical engineering, light industry, and in the food industry, because, as the Program-Directive stresses, we start out from the fact that there should be no price increase in

this period. On the contrary, we have to aim at reducing material and production costs to a certain extent. What will be achieved in our capital is an important part and parcel of our country's development in general. Bucharest will probably preserve its share of 13-14 percent which it has today. Actually, our aim throughout the country is to vigorously develop our socialist industry.

This requires very great efforts by the party organizations and by all working people in Bucharest. During yesterday's visit to various enterprises, I noted very positive things; but I also noted that many things remain to be done to ensure proper organization and better capitalization on the available facilities, raw and other materials, and especially on the labor force, and on the creative energy of the workers, technicians, and engineers.

These are things which permit us to achieve a manifold increase in output if the production process and production flow are well organized and if measures for technological and other modernization are taken.

As a matter of fact, the management of the five enterprises I visited yesterday in Bucharest pledged to resolve some of these problems in the months to come, problems which do not require particular things, but just better organization and a greater sense of responsibility in the application of the programs we have for all fields of activity. I am talking about all this because, when we speak about future programs, we have to give priority—as in fact the Program-Directive emphasizes—to intensive development problems and to the implementation of the programs for scientifically organizing and modernizing all production processes on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology in all areas. From this point of view, Bucharest has a completely special situation and things should progress, as it were, in the best way! Why? Because here we have the greatest number of research institutes—and there are not a few of them—and a great number of people are working in them. Here we also have the most powerful higher educational center and all the other known forms of education.

I am talking about this area—which requires close cooperation between research, education, and production—bearing in mind the fact that all problems have to be solved and an ever higher technical and scientific standard has to be ensured in all activities.

Let us see to it that products in Bucharest are not only the best in our country, but among the best in Europe and throughout the world! This is the problem of the future development of our homeland's capital! (loud, prolonged applause; long chants of "We will work and struggle to elevate our country!")

I want to draw attention to the fact that you should not underrate the other centers. As far as I am concerned, I fully trust that the other workers centers and the other industrial, educational, and research centers will not lag behind but will struggle to achieve ever better results. I am convinced that many of them will achieve positive results, and that some of them will even rank first and exceed our capital. The best will win in this competition. And our nation and socialist construction in Romania will win on this basis. (loud, prolonged applause; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

True, some comrades have voiced criticism—and in my view justified criticism—about the bureaucratic and slow way in which the management in some ministries is solving various tangible socioeconomic development problems, although, being in Bucharest, there should be no problem in one or another enterprise that cannot be solved on time and under the best of conditions. As a matter of fact, I do not want any ministry to understand that when counties are at stake they have to act slower or with a lesser sense of responsibility. Problems in our capital have to be solved with the same responsibility as those in Iasi, Cluj, Brasov, Constanta, Timisoara, Satu Mare, and all counties! This is a basic duty of the ministries and is an important role to be played by them and our state apparatus, whose task it is to eliminate bureaucracy and the attitude of putting off things for good, and to act in a revolutionary spirit to solve all problems that are posed and will be constantly posed by life, and by the intensive construction and development rate of our homeland in the future. (loud, prolonged applause)

In Bucharest it is necessary to pay greater attention to educational activity in all areas and to research work by proceeding from the fact that education and research constitute decisive factors for successfully building the new social system and for our homeland's development. Without basing all our activities on the most modern achievements of science and technology—in the field of training specialists and the working people in all areas—we will not be able to ensure the necessary labor force to implement our development programs.

We have good machinery and we will have better; however, it must be well understood that machines are manufactured by people and that the decisive force of building socialism is man himself. No matter how good one machine or another is, no matter how good a piece of electronic apparatus—and I am referring to this because some people have begun to pay greater attention to pieces of apparatus than to people—one must understand that people constitute and will always constitute the decisive force and the decisive factor for our homeland's development and for building socialism and communism. Therefore, we have to do all we can to improve the technical, scientific, and professional standard of our people and to turn all our people and—referring to our capital—all the citizens in Bucharest into people with great knowledge and into genuine intellectuals of socialist construction. (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and people!")

In Bucharest it is necessary to pay greater attention to the problems of labor productivity, to increasing economic efficiency and profitability in all areas, to unflinchingly

implementing the principles of self-management and self-administration, and to the operation of all economic and social units on the basis of their own income and expenditure budgets. There are still many things to be done in this area!

At the same time, it is necessary to pay greater attention to problems of proper supplies and to solving labor problems on time, and especially to matters regarding the life of all working people and of all Bucharest residents and, in fact, of the inhabitants of our whole country. However, I am talking about Bucharest. Although very important funds have been allocated this year for the people's supplies, unfortunately, they have been managed badly, and even now we cannot say that they are completely managed as they should be. You are familiar with this from publications. The program for self-sufficiency in agricultural produce, foodstuffs, and industrial products stipulates that the consumption requirements of all residents be met under the best of conditions. From the point of view of calories, we now rank among the countries with a very high consumption of more than 3,300 calories per capita. Specialized international bodies recommend 2,650 calories per capita for Romania. We rank among the countries with average consumption. Generally speaking—with a few exceptions—no one exceeds 3,000 calories according to the norms of world bodies. We have allocated and have everything that is needed to exceed 3,300 calories.

So far this year, more than 20,000 tonnes of meat and meat products were consumed in Bucharest on a monthly basis, which amounts to some 90-100 kg annually per capita, which is more than necessary. However, I do not wish to dwell here on various existing shortcomings which we discussed in the past. I hope that the Municipal Committee, the People's Council, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Food Industry, hence, all the bodies responsible for this sector, have drawn the appropriate conclusions to eliminate the negative states of affairs.

According to the program voted by the Grand National Assembly [GNA], some 23-25,000 tonnes of meat are being delivered on a monthly basis, which means 280-300,000 tonnes per year, and we have fully ensured all that is required for that. I am talking about this aspect, because there were and are no problems with other products. One should improve the supply and quality of bread and other products, and the specialized bodies in charge of this sector must solve all problems in this respect. Therefore, we have everything that is necessary to ensure very good food supplies for the Bucharest inhabitants and all our people. I would like to point out that we are determined to do all we can to commendably fulfill the provisions of the plan adopted by the GNA. This plan takes into account our stored reserves. As I said at the "Harvest Day" rally, for many products we have reserves that can last for 1 or 1 and ½ years, even if we were not to produce anything else in the meantime. But, of course, this will not come to pass. Therefore, we have everything we need for a good supply, and this year's crops show that our agriculture can and will continue to produce ever bigger crops! Now it is necessary that the party organization, the People's Council, and the ministries should pay due attention to properly organizing the trade activity and improving the quality of products. We will thus ensure that our capital city and the people will have all they need from all viewpoints!

The conference of the party organization must include in the decision it will adopt, if it has not done so yet, the fact that the Party Municipal Committee, the Municipal People's Councils, all party organizations and people's councils of Bucharest's sectors, and all working people's commissions should pay particular attention to these problems, which are an integral part of the citizens' life and work and of the efforts to build the socialist society and raise the people's living standard, the supreme goal of the party policy, and the essence of socialism! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

In order to ensure greater autonomy in Bucharest's supply situation, we decided to open new cow farms in the Ilfov Agricultural Sector, which can practically ensure the entire quantity of required milk for Bucharest, so as to no longer have to bring milk from other counties. Likewise, as of next year, Ilfov Agricultural Sector will increase its area sown with vegetables to 10-12,000 hectares, including double and catch crops, which can ensure the entire quantity of vegetables required for Bucharest, given an average yield of 50-60,000 kg per hectare, although there are counties which exceeded 100,000 kg per hectare. All this will mean that we obtain yields of 700-800,000 tonnes of vegetables, which in practical terms is far above the requirements of Bucharest inhabitants for rational and normal consumption.

I am talking about all this because Ilfov Agricultural Sector, which is also subordinated to the Bucharest party organization, must take all necessary steps to achieve appropriate yields. As a matter of fact, you have all heard the reports on very large crops achieved by the Ilfov Agricultural Sector, such as the productions obtained by the Jilava agricultural cooperative, and you also heard the pledges made concerning the next year's production. I would only like to draw attention to the fact that there are counties where certain agricultural units have pledged to exceed the corn cob yield per hectare by 50 tonnes. If Ilfov Agricultural Sector wants to be among those with good results, it must also think in terms of such yields.

We have all the necessary conditions for that, hence, we must ensure a good and lasting basis in the surrounding areas of our capital city for a good supply of vegetables, some fruits, milk, and other products.

One should pay greater attention to the proper administration of Bucharest. Indeed, we have built a lot and will continue to build; by 1995, we will practically complete

the constructions in Bucharest. Of course, we will continue to build, as is only natural, but at a much slower pace, because, by then, we will have fully ensured appropriate housing for the entire population. As a matter of fact, we have already ensured 12 square meters per capita in Bucharest, plus utilities. But this requires better administration and more order.

Indeed, we have accomplished a lot. The capital city of our fatherland has change and is changing continuously. The completion of our great building projects in 1995—the subway, Dimbovita River, the lakes, the new administrative center, and new residential areas—will turn Bucharest into one of the world's capitals with some of the best housing and living conditions and the cleanest air, by taking all steps to combat and reduce pollution to a minimum.

We must do all we can not only to build but also to provide everything else required for ensuring that Bucharest, the capital city of Socialist Romania, is on a par with any other capital city in the world, both from the viewpoint of its overall aspect and from the viewpoint of the working and living conditions it ensures for all its inhabitants! (Loud and prolonged applause, prolonged chants: "Long Live Ceausescu, Our Capital City May Flourish!")

Esteemed comrades, the achievement of these targets is based on our results to date. They are not mere wishes, but rather today's and tomorrow's realities of our people, hence, of our fatherland's capital city as well.

It is necessary to further improve our activity in all spheres and to broadly develop the forms of our revolutionary workers' democracy, a wonderful democratic framework created by us, which ensures the participation of all categories of working people in running all sectors of activity.

Let us ensure that the general meetings of the owners and producers and the managerial councils of all units fulfill democratically and commendably their role in administering an important part of the whole nation's property!

We will have to improve the activity of people's councils and of the commissions of people's councils. I would like to openly say that if the people's councils had done their duty and if the citizens' commissions of people's councils had worked in a spirit of full responsibility, we would not have had any negative states of affairs in the supply sector.

We must ensure that citizens actively participate, within the existing organized framework, in commendably solving all problems. We have many organizations. Just to take our capital city, there is hardly a citizen that does not belong to some organization.

There are 453,000 party members in Bucharest, of whom 60 percent are workers and 26 percent are intellectuals and clerks. Of course, there are fewer peasants, because they only represent Ilfov Agricultural Sector. Almost 40 percent of the Bucharest organization's party members are women. This is a huge force! However, the party organizations should commendably fulfill its role in all spheres of activity. I know this party organization very well, because I began my activity in Bucharest, in the trade union movement, youth organizations, and the party. I know that it has always been a strong organization and answered the party's calls, by organizing and leading many struggles of the workers class and intelligentsia against oppression and for social and national liberation. It has also played an important role in the historic act of 23 August, hence we must keep up the banner of revolutionary struggle, and such a spirit should permeate the activity of Bucharest Communists! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

The Union of Communist Youth [UCY] also has more than 450,000 members in Bucharest. It is also a huge revolutionary force, which has always played an active role in organizing and leading the struggle of the young generation against oppression and, later on, for socialist construction. The Communists in the party and the UCY alone represent more than 40 percent of the capital's population. Given the existence of such a revolutionary force, we should have no problems whatsoever and no situations or other matters left unsolved in Bucharest. I believe that this is the main task set for the party, the UCY, and the Bucharest Communists, who will then ensure that Bucharest continues to be a strong center and the strongest revolutionary detachment of our party. (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "We Will work and We Will Struggle, We Will Raise the Fatherland!")

Some 1,150,000 working people are trade union members, which means almost 60 percent of the capital's population; hence, the trade unions should also play an active role in properly organizing the entire activity and solving problems on time, and should constantly concern themselves with improving working and living conditions for all working people.

I only talked about these organizations, but one should not forget that there are working people's councils and general meetings of the owners in all units; practically all citizens of our fatherland's capital city belong to these organizational forms, to which one should also add the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization [SDUO], a political organization with more than 400,000 members, which works in close cooperation with the party organizations and all other organizations.

I left out various other organizations and creative unions, because their members are organizationally integrated, in one form or another, in the organizations I mentioned before; however, these other unions have their role specific profile and participate in solving various problems. Consequently, we have a wonderful and broadly democratic framework, in which each category and each socioeconomic unit can and must actively participate in discussing problems, adopting decisions,

implementing our state's domestic and foreign policy, building socialism, defending peace, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

One should realize that the continuous improvement of our work in all spheres and the broad development of the democratic framework for the whole nation's participation in running all sectors of activity are the decisive elements of our fatherland's progress. Proceeding from the scientific concept of building socialism with the people and for the people, we must always do everything possible to ensure that the broad masses and the people themselves play the decisive role in everything being decided and done in our fatherland! As a matter of fact, this is the true revolutionary workers democracy, which cannot be compared with any other kind of bourgeois democracy, and we must do all we can to ensure that this broad democratic framework and the people's participation are part and parcel of the construction of socialism and communism in Romania. (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

In this framework, I would like to briefly emphasize—also at this conference of the Bucharest Municipal Party Organization—the need to further increase the role of the workers class, the leading class in our society. As a matter of fact, the prevailing proportion of members of our party and democratic bodies clearly shows that our party is doing everything possible to create the best conditions for the workers class to be able to fulfill its historical mission. We will raise the cultural and training level of the workers class. With the generalization of the 12-year schooling system, practically all citizens, including Bucharest inhabitants, will become true intellectuals; we will thus draw closer the knowledge and development levels of various categories of working people. This is the historical and law-governed way of raising the whole nation to a higher level of civilization; in this light, the role of the workers class, the true creative force of socialism and communism, will not diminish; on the contrary, it will increase. Of course, we consider and have always considered the intelligentsia, particularly the technical one, as an inseparable part of the workers class; this will become even more obvious in the future. In complete unity, the workers, peasants, and intellectuals actually represent tomorrow's society, which will be a homogeneous one, and the working people of the socialist and communist society. (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!")

At the Central Committee plenum on ideological problems, I dealt in detail with current and future problems of the activity of fashioning the new man and raising the revolutionary and social awareness of the whole nation. Therefore, I do not wish to dwell on these matters now. I believe that the entire political-educational and ideological activity in the party organizations throughout the country, including Bucharest, should be based on the decisions adopted at the last October Central Committee plenum. However, in view of the existing forces in Bucharest, the capital city should again play a more active role in developing the overall awareness and revolutionary spirit and in improving the political-educational activity, including in the sphere of the literary-artistic creation.

We need and we have to ask artists and all writers to create highly valuable works to appropriately match our people's heroic activity, works that depict the struggle and work of our whole nation for a better life, for socialism, communism, and for peace; writers have to demonstrate through their art and literary works the creative potential of a nation that has become free and master of its destiny! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Comrades, these are the problems and wonderful prospects facing the Bucharest party organization, all working people, and all citizens of our homeland's capital! All Communists, all working people, and all citizens of Bucharest Municipality have to work in complete unity to ensure the unflinching implementation of our programs in all areas and the constant elevation of Romania's capital to ever greater heights of civilization, well-being, and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "We will work and struggle to raise up our country!")

Since the party congress will be held in 10 days, I do not want to dwell on international issues. I only want to emphasize the fact that, in close accordance with our policy of building socialism, we have worked and will continue to work toward developing relations with all states in the world, irrespective of social system, by paying, within this framework, special attention to cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries and with the developing countries.

We will do all we can to continue to make an active contribution to ensuring security and cooperation in Europe, for a united Europe of free and independent nations in which each people will build their "home" as they desire and in which each individual will at least have secure housing. (loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu, Romania—peace and friendship!")

We will pay particular attention to relations in the Balkans. We want to work, together with all states in the Balkans, toward broad economic, scientific-technical, and other cooperation, and toward turning this area into an area without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign military bases, and into an area of peoples' independent development, of cooperation among all Balkan countries for the progress and well-being of each of them. (loud applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu—peace!")

We start out from the fact that the existence of nuclear weapons and, in fact, the continuation of the nuclear arms race and of the development of other weapons is

the main problem of our time, because a world war would mean that these weapons would be used and this would bring about the destruction of the whole of mankind and of life itself on our planet. Therefore, we are firmly determined to do all we can and to work in complete unity with all peace-loving forces and peoples to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to completely eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons, and to radically reduce conventional weapons. Without reducing and destroying these weapons, one cannot speak of a new policy and one cannot speak of a new trend in events. We are firmly decided to work with all our strength toward this goal and we are convinced that, through joint action, it is possible for peoples to impose disarmament and peace, and to ensure a better and more just world in which all nations may develop independently and freely, without any outside interference. (loud, prolonged cheers, applause; long chants of "Disarmament—peace!")

Esteemed comrades, the discussions and decisions adopted in complete unanimity by the conference of the Bucharest municipal party organization demonstrates the force, unity, and determination of the Communists, of all working people, and of all citizens in Bucharest to continue to work with great determination toward developing Bucharest and our homeland even more, and to make an ever more important contribution to Romania's progress in general and to raising it to new heights of progress and civilization.

I would like to express thanks to the Bucharest party organization and conference for the decision adopted in connection with supporting the Central Committee proposal of re-electing me as party secretary general. Certainly, the decision will be made by the party congress—the party's supreme forum. However, I want to express thanks and to assure the Bucharest party organization, as in fact the whole party, as well as the working people in Bucharest, that I will always and under any circumstances do all I can as a revolutionary, as a soldier of the party, and as a member of the Communist Party to make sure that the aspirations of our people and of all peoples for building a system without exploitation—socialism and communism—will be achieved. I will work under great responsibility under any circumstances to serve the people, our homeland, and the cause of socialism and communism, and to ensure Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud cheers, applause; long chants of "Ceausescu re-elected at the 14th Congress!")

I wish all delegations, party organizations, Communists, working people, and residents of our socialist capital constantly greater achievements and accomplishments in all areas. May you rank among the best in the competition among all counties and, if possible, rank first—this depends only on yourselves! I would greet such a thing!

Once again I wish you ever greater successes, much good health and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu—peace!" "Our esteem and pride—Ceausescu, Romania!" and "Ceausescu re-elected at the 14th Congress!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity around the party, all those present in the conference hall chant and give ovations minutes on end for the RCP—the leading political forces of the whole nation—and for the party secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Bucharest Committee Praises Ceausescu

AU1411141289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Resolution issued by the Conference of the Bucharest Municipal Party Organization on President Nicolae Ceausescu's Reelection to the position of secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party at the 14th Party Congress—date and place not given]

[Text] The participants in the conference of the Bucharest municipal organization of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], voicing the fervent wish of the Communists and of the working people in Bucharest and in complete unity with the thoughts and aspirations of the entire party and people, express their full and enthusiastic endorsement of the decision of the RCP Central Committee plenum regarding the re-election—at the 14th RCP Congress—of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the supreme position of RCP secretary general, the ingenious founder of modern socialist Romania, the visionary leader of the whole nation on the road to progress and well-being, the brilliant figure of the international communist and workers movement, and the tireless fighter for the cause of socialism and communism, and for the triumph of peace and cooperation in the world.

The Communists of the municipal party organization are firmly and unshakably convinced that this basic political act is a guarantee for the successful achievement of the most noble aspirations for our nation's progress and of the targets and decisions that will be adopted by the 14th RCP Congress—the congress of great socialist victories, of the triumph of the principles of scientific socialism in our homeland's revolutionary transformation, and of Romania's complete economic and political independence.

The reinvestment of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great hero among our nation's heroes and excellent founder of modern socialist Romania, to the highest leadership position in the party proves the monolithic unity of our whole nation around the party and its secretary general and is an expression of the fervent recognition of the tremendous revolutionary activity dedicated for almost 60 years by our party and state leader to our homeland's progress and many-sided prosperity, to strengthening national sovereignty and independence, and to vigorously asserting the superiority of the most just and humane system —socialism, which we are successfully building in Romania.

Wholeheartedly supporting the decision of the Central Committee plenum regarding Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election as party secretary general, the Communists and all working people in Bucharest very highly appreciate the decisive contribution made by our party's and state's celebrated leader to formulating the strategy of implementing the tremendous revolutionary process ushered in by the historic Ninth RCP Congress, an event of cardinal importance that marked the beginning of a new era—of tremendous importance for the party's activity—in the work of building socialism in our homeland, in achieving a more powerful technical-material base in our society, in constantly perfecting production and social relations, and in building socialism with the people and for the people.

Emphasizing Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's everlasting merits in the great renewing transformations experienced by our society in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, the conference pays the greatest homage to the party secretary general for his priceless contribution to the theoretical grounding of the socialist construction process in Romania, to eliminating for good the concept of a unique model, dogmatism, and conservatism, to the application of the general truths of scientific socialism to the specific conditions and realities in our country, and his contribution to the creative development of the revolutionary theory by enriching the party's ideological treasury and the philosophic and political heritage of the workers class with exceptionally valuable new theses and ideas.

With fervent recognition, the Communists and all those who work in our country's capital highly appreciate the decisive role played by the party secretary general in instilling a new and profoundly renewing spirit into the entire socialist construction process in our homeland, in formulating realistic and profoundly mobilizing programs for intensive development, in raising all activities to qualitatively higher levels, broadly applying the achievements of science and technology in all economic activities, and in constantly improving the material and cultural standard of living of our people.

Like our entire party, the Communists in Bucharest are profoundly grateful to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who has paid and continues to pay primary attention to defining and enhancing our Communist Party's role in society, to its assertion as our nation's genuine and vital core and as the political leading force in all socioeconomic areas, to developing the revolutionary spirit, and constantly increasing the role of the workers class in the construction of the new society.

The conference of the municipal party organization expresses gratitude to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the masterly way in which he is working to formulate and implement our party's and state's principled and clear-sighted foreign policy aimed at achieving a world of peace and understanding among peoples in which the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and guarantee for each people's right to independently decide on its own destiny may triumph.

On behalf of the Communists and all working people of Bucharest, the participants in the municipal party conference express their boundless gratitude to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for his decisive contributions to Romania's socioeconomic development, the Communists and all working people in Bucharest support, from the bottom of their heart, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reinvestiture in the supreme position of RCP secretary general, a guarantee for our homeland's resolute march forward on the road to socialism and communism.

The Bucharest party organization, together with all working people in our capital solemnly pledge to do all they can to commendably fulfill this year's plan tasks and those for the entire 5-year plan, and to devote all their work and creative energy to implementing the decisions of the great forum of the Romanian Communists, thus making a constantly greater contribution to the many-sided prosperity of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

More County Party Conferences Held

AU1211184489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1732 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/11/1989—In preparation for the 14th Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Congress, report and election meetings of RCP organizations were held in the counties of Bacau, Bistrita-Nasaud, Braila, Buzau, Caras Severin, Constanta, Covasna, Giurgiu, Harghita, Ialomita, Mehedinti, Maramures, Mures, Neamt, Salaj, Sibiu, Suceava, Timis, Tulcea, Vrancea. Participants discussed at length the draft programme-directive and the theses for the 14th Party Congress, analyzed with a high sense of communist responsibility the activity of party organs and organizations for the implementation of the socioeconomic development programmes of all settlements, adopted measures for the improvement of work in all fields, for a growing contribution of each county to the country's continued progress, to the higher welfare of the Romanian socialist nation.

Attending the conferences along with the delegates elected by commune, town and city party organizations were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the RCP, secretaries of the Party's Central Committee, members of the CC of the RCP and the government, managers of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

In the name of the RCP general secretary and president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, conference participants, the communists, all working people in the respective counties were warmly congratulated on their outstanding successes in all socioeconomic areas and urged to have ever bigger accomplishments in the construction of socialism and communism in Romania.

The conferences, through decisions of their own, supported Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the highest office of general secretary at the 14th Party Congress.

The participants voiced their high appreciation of the theses and ideas in the party general secretary's exposition at the enlarged plenum of the CC of the RCP last October, a revolutionary programme of work and action for the party, for all people.

Reference was made during the conferences to the big revolutionary changes in all counties in the years of great socialist achievements since the historic Ninth Party Congress, to the remarkable accomplishments in all economic and social spheres through the implementation of the policy of balanced harmonious distribution of the forces of production in the territory, of development and modernization of industry, of agriculture, of all the sectors of the national economy initiated by the RCP and Romanian State Leader Nicolae Ceausescu, and put to work under his leadership and with his decisive contribution.

The conferences brought out in bold relief the profound revolutionary changes in the life of the country, the great successes in the vast work of socialist construction in Romania, the determination for further action for the implementation of the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism.

The conferences considered, with a sense of revolutionary exigency characteristic of the party, in a critical and self-critical spirit the political and organizational activity of county committees, of the party, state, mass and public organs and organizations for the fulfillment of the 13th Congress decisions. Starting from the important tasks of the party organs and organizations, the ways of action were discussed for them to make their full contribution to the improvement of the economic performance.

The conference underscored the attachment of the communists, of all the citizens to the RCP and Romanian state policy, their determination to accomplish the great work of socialist construction, to put the conditions in place for the building of communism in the country.

The resolutions adopted by the conferences underscore the will of the party bodies and organizations to improve their style and methods of work, to develop and improve the revolutionary worker democracy, to intensify the political-organizational, ideological and cultural-educative activity and raise it onto a higher level.

The conferences were opportunities to reiterate the full adhesion of the communists, of all the working people to the RCP and Romanian state's foreign policy, to the initiatives of the party general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, on an international plane devoted to the development of cooperation and understanding among peoples, to the constructive settlement of the issues confronting mankind, to the consolidation of peace and security on our planet.

The participants combated the theses and ideas concerning the disideologization of international relations, and the renunciation of the fundamental conceptions of socialist construction, the attempts of reactionary quarters at undermining and denigrating socialism. The Romanian nation's determination was reasserted to oppose with all its forces the imperialist tendencies of violating the peoples' rights to free and independent development, to do its utmost for the triumph of the communist ideals.

The proceedings of the conferences highlighted the might of the Romanian Communist Party, its decisive role in the entire work of building socialism on Romania's soil.

The conferences elected the new leading bodies of the county party organizations, the delegates to the fourteenth RCP Congress and nominated the candidates for the central party bodies.

The county party organizations entrusted their delegates with the mandate to vote Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the office of RCP general secretary, to approve the programmatic documents to be submitted for debate to the great forum of the Romanian communists.

The first secretaries of the county party committees were elected during the conferences.

The participants in the county conferences sent telegrams to the RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu whereby they reiterate the firm pledge of the party members, of the entire people to step up their efforts to fulfill the targets set by the programmatic documents of the forthcoming forum of the Romanian communists.

Belgrade Media on Situation in Bucharest, Sofia

Security in Romania 'Intensified'

AU1811204389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 89

[TANJUG correspondent Petar Tomic's report from Bucharest]

[Text] Tourist traffic has been temporarily stopped at all of the border checkpoints in Romania. The first report on this came yesterday from Budapest, where it was announced that Romania has closed its border with Hungary. There are no official reports in Bucharest on this, but passengers and journalists who are arriving in the Romanian capital confirm that checks have been intensified along the Romanian borders. Embassies are receiving reports that large groups of travelers have been turned back at the borders, the explanation being that for the duration of the congress, Bucharest hotels will be unable to accommodate any tourists.

There is no doubt that this is one of the measures which has been taken all over Romania on the eve of the 14th party congress that opens on Monday. Security measures have been introduced in all of the counties, at the railroad station, the airport, and at other places in Bucharest, and identity papers are being checked.

Foreign observers in the Romanian capital believe that all of this is connected with the intensified activities by the Romanian emigres in the world and the pressure from abroad to make Romania step on the road of reform like its southern neighbor, Bulgaria. In a situation in which changes are occurring in all of the neighboring countries, changes with which Romania is essentially at loggerheads, it is quite understandable that everything is being done so that the great gathering of the Romanian Communists will run as intended. This means that the program for the country's development until 1995 and guidelines for the development of Romania until 2010 will be adopted, confirming the present Romanian road of socialist building and that Nicolae Ceausescu will be reelected secretary general.

Bucharest Refuses TANJUG Journalist

LD1911171189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—The Romanian Foreign Ministry refused to accept the accreditation of TANJUG journalist Dragoslav Markovic, who was, together with the permanent correspondent in Bucharest Peter Tomic, supposed to report on the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress. TANJUG's permanent correspondent in Bucharest was told that Markovic "is not welcome in Romania in any capacity, not even as a tourist." It was said in the Romanian Foreign Ministry that if Markovic sets out for Bucharest, "he will be turned back at the border." The Romanian authorities did not want to give any explanation for this unusual decision and only stressed that TANJUG's journalist "simply is not welcome."

Markovic has been a permanent TANJUG correspondent in Romania and in this capacity he wrote several critical texts on events in this country. If this declaration of the TANJUG journalist as an undesirable person is motivated by his efforts to objectively and critically consider and assess reality in Romania, then the decision by the Bucharest authorities is at the same time both strange and unacceptable. Certainly it cannot contribute either to better mutual acquaintance or indeed to the development of good-neighborly relations.

The fact that the Yugoslav news agency will this time be without a special reporter represents a smaller loss to TANJUG, but a greater loss to Romania itself.

Changes Expected in Sofia

AU1611190389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Special correspondent Dragan Petrovic's report from Sofia]

[Text] Observers expect that today's plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party will bring additional significant cadre changes. The renewal should follow the line of strengthening the reformist wing, which means further advances by the champions of restructuring to the Politburo and to other key positions in the party and the government.

There have been no official announcements on the course of the session. The radio only reported that the plenum is being held in the hall of the party building and not in the Boyana Complex, where the Central Committee usually meets.

Bulgarian radio and television has offered to relay the session live, which would be a first in their political practice so far. The request has not been accepted, although it was based on the expressed wish of the public.

The leadership of the Writers Association expressed support for the changes in Bulgaria with a special declaration this morning. They expressed their hope that, as they put it, the fateful processes in the recent political history of Bulgaria will fulfill the hope for a deep radical renewal of social and spiritual life.

Fulfilling his promises about a dialogue with the people, Petur Mladenov, new general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has opened the process through holding talks with the intellectuals. In a frank dialogue, as the press called it today, Mladenov said that the social and spiritual progress of the country is possible only through the reforms, whose important prerequisites are freedom of creativity and pluralism of thought.

The observers here assess the dialogue with the intellectuals as being right on target, particularly when one considers that the first concrete decision by the Politburo under Mladenov was the readmission to the party of a group of 13 [number as heard] activists of alternative movements, some of whom were active participants in the talks with the intellectuals.

Bulgarian 'Reformist Wing' Victory

AU1711201089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] A session of the Bulgarian National Assembly has elected Petur Mladenov new head of state. Last Friday, he took over the duties of the general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Todor Zhivkov was relieved of his duties as head of state. Major cadre changes were also carried out in the Bulgarian government. Our special correspondent Dragan Petrovic reports from Sofia:

[Passage omitted citing Mladenov] With radical changes, champions of reforms have reached responsible posts in the top party and state leadership, and those who opposed the changes have been pensioned off or replaced. It may be said that the reformist wing has won its first victory in this organizational preparatory stage of real deep changes in Bulgaria.

However, it was shown even this afternoon that the victory could perhaps have been more convincing. At a meeting in support of the reforms, to which the people were called by official bodies, there was slight confusion in the scenario, or perhaps there was not, so that some speakers were booed, and resignations were demanded of some additional officials who observers here had thought would yield their places to others.

After slightly more than 1 hour, some 40,000 demonstrators peacefully dispersed. A demonstration by the alternative groups has been announced for tomorrow, and it is the first time that it has been approved. It will be interesting to hear to what extent these groups are prepared to support the reform course and what their vision of Bulgarian restructuring and glasnost are.

The parliament session today passed in a completely new atmosphere, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, and it was quite polemical at times. Sharp criticism was expressed of Todor Zhivkov and the manner of work in the state and party leadership so far. Quite new sounds were heard in the National Assembly concerning the leading role of the Bulgarian Communist Party, political pluralism, responsibility to the people, the role of the parliament, and the need for Bulgaria to become a modern law-governed state.

'Radical' Demands in Sofia

AU1811183889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting of several alternative groups was held in the Bulgarian capital today, for the first time without the resistance of the official organs. Our special correspondent Dragan Petrovic reports from Sofia:

It is estimated that more than 50,000 people gathered in the large square in front of the Aleksandur Nevski church. They were addressed by a score of representatives of the alternative groups, including well-known Bulgarian scientists, intellectuals, artists, and old revolutionaries.

In comparison with the meeting last night that was organized by official bodies, the attendance at the gathering today was much greater and the demands voiced were much more radical. What was demanded was free elections, a multiparty system in Bulgaria, and true democracy. A complete demolition of the system manifested in Todor Zhivkov's 35 years of rule was demanded. A condemnation of all misdeeds in the past 45 years was requested, and further resignations of all who have been compromised were demanded.

The meeting took place quietly, and as I am reporting the participants are dispersing slowly. Obviously, the deliberate decision by the new Bulgarian leadership to allow this gathering and thus, to open a dialogue with the people, has been shown to be quite correct.

One of the priority tasks of the new leadership is to recapture the trust of the people it has lost. The quickest and the most certain way for this is glasnost, which until recently was simulated in Bulgaria by revolutionary cliches.

Drnovsek Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov

LD1811141189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the SFRY Presidency, Janez Drnovsek, has congratulated Peter Mladenov on his appointment as the Council of State chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He expressed his belief that the good-neighborly relations and versatile bilateral cooperation will further develop in the interest of our nations, peace, and stability in the Balkans and in Europe.

Secretary Loncar Speaks to Council of Europe

LD1611231289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Strasbourg, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Today, addressing members of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said:

Your excellencies,

respected colleagues,

I thank you once more for your invitation. For the first time, Yugoslavia is included in a joint meeting within the framework of the work of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. I appreciate this opportunity. I shall use it to present to you some Yugoslav activities and considerations regarding relations with the Council of Europe, our overall internal reforms which are underway, especially legislative reform, as well as regarding Europe and the world as a whole.

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The Council of Europe is celebrating its 40th anniversary. Yugoslavia is marking more than 40 years of its specifically nonaligned existence. The cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Council of Europe has been underway for almost 3 decades.

This is a concise fact. However, it contains the answer to the question of how such a long cooperation between the organization which has permanent members and the country which does not came about. The goals are similar: unity to preserve and realize ideals and principles which form a joint heritage; and boosting economic and social progress in Europe.

Allow me to continue presenting facts. It is known that the mutual cooperation is carried out at two levels: intergovernmental and parliamentary. It is known that we have an open and continuous dialogue. Moreover, in the past few years, even months, the quality of the cooperation has greatly improved. This last period coincides with the status of a special guest at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which was granted to Yugoslavia this May.

I would like to expand on this a little. Yugoslavia does not belong to any European groupings formally, although it cooperates with all of them. It also cares deeply that the cooperation is advanced to the utmost possible limits. The utmost limits both on our part and on the part of European groupings. This neither precludes membership in the near or distant future, nor imposes any limits in advance. Sometimes, Yugoslavia is referred to as a country which belongs to no one. This is true when it refers to divisions, but is true that it belongs to itself, and Europe, and the world, when common intersts are involved. A step forward by the Council of Europe not just in respect to Yugoslavia, is mutually important. For Yugoslavia because it opens up new opportunities for cooperation with European nations, with which it is bound by history to build a common home. For Europe, because the act by the Council of Europe turned a page which should have been turned long time ago. This was stated in front of the Parliamentary Assembly by our former Norwegian collegue Mr Stoltenberg. Truly, in presentday Europe this is the right way for the Council of Europe to become a true "laboratory in which European cooperation is tested."

Why do I emphasize this? You know that Yugoslavia has decided to embark, on substantial changes. The main aim of the reforms is to consolidate economic efficiency and political democracy. This means that pluralism of ownership, political pluralism, the affirmation of human liberties and civil rights, and the creation of a modern state, which would enhance all these processes, are the basis for a fundamental transformation of Yugoslavia. The cornerstone of the transformation is opening up toward the world, especially toward Europe. Yugoslavia identifies its contribution and role in the historical challenge of the present times in building a common European home with the realization of the aims of its reforms. Reforms which would transform it into a country with a market economy, political pluralism and the broadest democracy.

Great changes are happening in the world. Of course, they are deeply present in our consciousness as well. Indeed, Yugoslavia sees this development as very encouraging. Why? Because among other things, due to its internal system and international orientation, Yugoslavia has always endorsed such processes, and in some ways it had anticipated them a long time ago.

Our own life, in practical terms, has features expressive of pluralism. At the same time, precisely because of our specific features, our life includes different views, demands debates, raises dilemmas. And all this happens in a specific way and in this way confirms the imminent development of pluralism.

The Council for Europe is bringing European nations closer together, establishing ties through conventions and agreements. What has Yugoslavia done in this respect: Yugoslavia has already joined; that is, it is a party to five conventions;

Yugoslavia is interested in joining a much higher number of conventions. I say a much higher number because among the ones it is interested in some are of a closed type. Therefore, our participation does not depend on us alone;

At this juncture, therefore, we have identified only 42 areas, that is, 42 conventions. Out of this number, for three conventions the procedure of legal ratification is already under way. We expect that for the remaining 39 conventions we shall very quickly, in the next months, have the honor, in accordance with procedures, to express our interest before the Council of Ministers.

Therefore, Yugoslavia will soon become a party to more than a third of the overall number of the conventions of the Council of Europe. This is not a small volume of ties.

Of course we would like our participation to be even greater. We are aware that for the time being some conventions are reserved only for member states. The convention on protection of human rights and basic

freedoms, for example. Yugoslavia satisfies and implements most of its regulations. Human rights and freedoms are increasingly becoming the focal point of Yugoslav society. Therefore it is logical that we wish for a continuous dialogue with the Council of Europe so that all the points of this significant document would be in mutual agreement. And it is logical that we hope that through such a dialogue we shall find opportunities for a complete agreement.

In brief, in our country the conviction has grown, not only about the need for even greater cooperation with the Council of Europe, but also, we are already thinking about submitting an application for the Council of Europe.

II

That is why I wish to inform you now about what we are doing in the legal area.

As I have said, the Yugoslav reform of the economic and political systems is starting from the basic concept of two ideas: A market economy, as a prerequisite for a better and more prosperous life and for a liberalization of creative potentials; and a democratization of overall social relations, as a condition for opening new opportunities for individual rights and freedoms. In this process a particular emphasis is on de-ideologization, deconstitualization, and de-regularization of the constitutional and legal order in the political atmosphere of a state of law.

Of course this presupposes the already undertaken or initiated changes in the national legal system, which primarily refers to a reform of the penal laws.

In this context I wish to point out in particular a reform of the concept of the criminal code. The ideological connotation of criminal acts will be eliminated from the criminal code and a protection of constitutional and legal values will be ensured and set in precise terms. Also, we will undertake a consistent definition of the protection from criminal acts against humanity and international law, in particular from international terrorism, as well as from more serious acts against the security of air traffic and abuse of drugs.

With these changes at the federal level, we shall also implement appropriate changes in the criminal codes of Yugoslav republics and provinces.

Next year there will be new big changes among which the most significant are the abolition of capital punishment and the punishment of confiscating property, the elimination of the ban on public speech, a revision of the existing regulations on rehabilitation and legal consequences of a sentence, a conceptual reexamination of the possibility of legally institutionalizing a substitute for a prison sentence, a revision of the terms of being unbalanced and court guarantees for medical treatment.

The next phase of reexamining economic offenses and violations, and their integration in a uniform system of penal law will also be carried out in 1990.

Also complementary to the reform of criminal law are the forthcoming changes in the law on criminal proceedings. These should ensure the reinforcement of the guarantee of the position of the accused and his right to defense, the regulation of the informal investigation proceedings and the restriction of the powers of the internal affairs organs in criminal proceedings.

Similarly, along the same lines of reform are the solutions contained in the changes to the federal laws on regular judges and the public prosecutor's office, aimed at achieving greater independence and autonomy of judges.

Our choice lies, therefore in further democratization. The motives lie in ourselves and for our own sakes, on Europe and for the sake of Europe, in the world and for the sake of the world and its further democratization. We cannot, nor do we wish to separate our policies at home from our policies toward the world. We cannot, nor do we wish to cut ourselves off from the dominant characteristics of presentday Europe and the world.

However. what are the prospects? What form could the future European and world development take?

Above all, where are we now in the process of strengthening stabilization in Europe? The time has passed when stabilization could simplistically be equated only with the military aspect. The concept of stability has rightly acquired a much broader definition. A definition which includes both the political, economic and the humanitarian dimension.

Does this not strengthen the role of the Council of Europe, and its responsibility for European stability? If the Council brings closer together and integrates the European nations, and does so throughout the entire European territory, then through its work comprehensive stability can perhaps be translated into most concrete forms. In other words, into joint efforts to set up strategies for tackling common challenges; into joint efforts so that the advantages of the technological revolution mobilize the economic potentials of the entire continent, without exception; into joint efforts for the best ways of defining the rights and freedoms of the individual within society, and the reciprocal contacts and movement of people, which link countries together.

A united Europe means unity in variety. An integrated Europe includes, and does not suppress, the specific features of the European nations, countries, and regions. The only way to the kind of Europe we want is the democratic way. Without imposition and hegemony to achieve that aim, and with full democracy when the aim is achieved.

In other words, differences—yes, barriers—no. If we want to preserve our common heritage, and realize our

overall economic and social progress, barriers must disappear. The artificial barriers which have for so long hampered Europe, are not only those between the political East and West. The East and the West do not make up the whole of Europe. It has its economic, and thereby also social, north and south, its differences and obstructions.

These can only be overcome by the creation of an all-Europe economic and trade area, all kinds of networks of relations. Only by the formation of a transportation infrastructure; an information, legal and ecological entity.

Markovic Meets With European Council Official

LD1611225689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Today in the Palace of the Federation Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], received Jean Matteolli, president of the Social and Economic Council of Europe. The talks were also attended by Vojo Srzentic, president of the Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy.

In a cordial and friendly conversation Markovic and Matteoli discussed opportunities for improving cooperation between Yugoslavia and France, primarily through developing higher forms of cooperation, such as joint investments and by establishing ties between small and medium-sized enterprises of the two countries. Matteolli showed great interest for the reform in Yugoslavia and expressed the conviction that France will lend its support to it.

Maksic on Relations With Neighbors, Minorities

LD1611124189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—In a more pronounced way than ever before, Yugoslavia's relations with its neighbors have become a step in our approach to European processes and a domain of our economic expansion. This was stressed by Milivoj Maksic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs, when submitting the introductory report during a session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber today.

Our neighbors are not only a group of countries with which we have been historically predestined to live in the same area, Maksic stressed, but our partners in regional cooperation too. We believe that this cooperation will have a positive reciprocal effect on goodneighborly relations. According to Maksic, these relations will go beyond the traditional framework and will acquire new dimensions, significance, and changes in our commitments and interests.

On the other hand, Maksic added, bearing in mind the rapid changes in parts of Europe and in our immediate neighborhood, "we must be prepared for the possibility of the political situation on our borders being changed over a period of many years and of acquiring relatively different neighbors." For this reason our policy of goodneighborly relations must be constantly adapted to what is happening in the neighboring countries, and to a certain extent to the events in our country as well, so that the policy is not just a sterile phrase, but a flexible approach full of initiative, said Maksic. [passage omitted]

The position and rights of Yugoslav minorities living in neighboring countries is an issue of special importance and sensitivity in this complex situation. He noted that the problem, however, was caused primarily by us and in the way Yugoslav policy was being implemented. According to Maksic, divisions in the country are an obstacle to having a single approach to this issue. He noted that there were calls for and in some environments moves were being made toward revising our policy. "To this end the federal secretariat for foreign affairs is often exposed to one-sided demands—here I wish to avoid the word pressures"—Maksic said, and cautioned that "we all have an obligation to respect Yugoslavia's single policy as outlined by the SFRY assembly which alone can make changes to it, providing they are beneficial for the country". [passage omitted]

The state of our borders with neighbors, and by implication the security of the country, depend on the state of relations with each of our neighbors, Maksic added, and warned that "for this reason the situation in the country calls for common sense".

Having cautioned that the problem of minorities could not be solved exclusively through emotions but on the basis of realistic assessments, Maksic stressed that "whether we want it or not, the minorities have to share the fate of the people in whose country they live and the differences in which they do this are more than obvious. As a result, while some of our minorities are faced with the issue of enhancing their presence in the life of the country they live in, in other countries they have to fight for their basic right to exist and have their identity recognized as an imperative for realizing their other rights, Maksic stressed. [passage omitted]

Further From Maksic

AU1711122989 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 17 Nov 89 p 4

["jk" report: "Yugoslavia's Path Toward Europe Leads Through Austria"]

[Text] Vienna—"Yugoslavia's path toward Europe leads through Austria." This was declared by the SFRY Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoje Maksic in Vienna on Thursday [16 November] on the occasion of a meeting with Thomas Klestil, general secretary in the Foreign Ministry. Klestil regarded this as a "compliment and responsibility to act accordingly in all international forums," particularly since there are "no problems" in the bilateral sphere.

The last statement was confirmed by Maksic: "I believe that we are getting on much better than is generally known." Austria ought to know that it has "a most faithful friend" in Yugoslavia. If the efforts of the current federal government under Premier Markovic are successful, "you will have a completely new neighbor in a few years," Markovic continued. However, there are also strong opposing forces.

Asked by DER STANDARD whether he saw the solution of the Yugoslav problem in emphasizing the federal principle or in strengthening the central power, Maksic replied that the federal government must be given greater authority. In case the individual republics fail to comply with the decisions that were adopted, this would ultimately create a confederation. "And this would be Yugoslavia's end."

Regarding the Kosovo question, Maksic said that fomenting this conflict cannot be in anybody's interest. The ideas of the "Albanian ultra-nationalists" in the Province of Kosovo are irreconcilable with the vision of a common Europe.

Further on Serbian Secretary's Visit to Israel

Prlja on Relations

AU1611214689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] On his return from a 6-day unofficial visit to Israel, Aleksandar Prlja, Serbia's republican secretary for relations with foreign countries, gave a press conference today. This was an atypical visit by a republican official, and it occurred at the invitation of Jews of Yugoslav origin, Prlja said. Azra Muhefendic reports:

I firmly hope that diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Israel will be resumed soon. This is in the interest of everybody, and Serbia has the right to advocate it within the Yugoslav Federation, Aleksandar Prlja said.

[Begin Prlja recording] Considering the rare opportunity that the visit offered, it was, of course, used—and I must say it was very intensively used—to give a direct impulse to getting better acquainted. It was used to hold talks in order to advance cultural, intellectual, and economic cooperation, above all; and likewise to expand the information that our public and those in the political structures and the leadership have—above all, those from the Socialist Republic of Serbia—and to expand our knowledge about the actual situation and feelings in Israel; and to make a contribution to resuming political contacts and relations, and providing a stimulus to accelerating the thinking about a full normalization of relations after the break in 1967. This includes diplomatic relations.

In this sense, of course, it would be wrong to leave out of the account the fact that the question of relations between Yugoslavia and Israel exceeds the powers of the Republican Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. He who thinks that we do not comprehend this is very much mistaken. This is, above all, within the powers of the SFRY Assembly, and at least with regard to diplomatic relations, the Assembly and the Federal Executive Council in its name—and of course the SFRY Presidency in some way, too, considering its constitutional powers in this field—will decide whether it supports or (?changes) the decision on (?the present situation), which in our opinion is not appropriate and which shows that we are lagging behind in what is needed. It does not serve anything, but it is harmful in many respects. What I have in mind is the nonexistence of the diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Israel. [end recording]

At the conclusion of his press conference, Aleksandar Prlja reminded the journalists that between 27 and 30 November, an assembly of European regions will be held in Vienna. He recalled that in May of this year, Serbia submitted an application to join this organization with the status of a permanent active observer. This application will be accepted at the meeting at the end of this month, Aleksandar Prlja, Serbia's republican secretary for relations with foreign countries, said.

Arab Ambassadors 'Regret' Visit

AU2011110389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Ambasadors Regret Prlja's Visit to Israel"]

[Text] The Council of Arab ambassadors accredited in Belgrade met on Tuesday [14 November] and discussed moves some Yugoslav officials made recently, as well as their statements concerning the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel. WAFA [Palestinian News Agency] reports that the Council also discussed the visit Aleksandar Prlja, secretary for the relations with foreign countries of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, paid to Israel.

Diplomatic sources say that the Council expressed its regret about the visit and decided to form a delegation which would meet with Yugoslav officials in order to point to the potential danger to the common interests of Yugoslavia and Arab countries.

90 Miners Die in Aleksinac Mine 'Tragedy'

LD1811001189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Aleksinac, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Today, in the first shift at 1159 [1059 GMT] the Aleksinac coal mines were hit by the biggest tragedy in this mine's existence, in which about 90 miners died. The accident was caused by the burning of installations and transportation equipment in the transportation shaft at level 445, says a statement issued to journalists by the director of the Aleksinac coal mines, Branislav Mandusic.

According to the statement, fumes from the fire led to suffocation, in other words to the poisoning of the employees in the production and mining areas. All the miners were equipped with emergency oxygen masks

which, in the exceptionally difficult circumstances created by the fire which had come into being, they were unable to use and were unable to be of help.

Rescue teams from the Aleksinac coal mines, which intervened immediately after the appearance of the fire, were unable to help the imperiled miners but stated that in the northern part of the "Morava" mine no one had survived.

Seventy-three miners emerged safely from the mine.

The teams of the rescue units of the Soko, Rembas, Bogovina and Ibar mines arrived immediately to help the rescue teams of the Aleksinac mines while the rescue teams from Bor, Stari Trg, and Zenica are on their way to the Aleksinac mines.

The extinguishing of the fire is under way, which should enable the rescue teams to approach the cut-off part of the mine and establish the exact number of casualties in this disaster.

The President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, the President of the Serbian League of Communist Central Committee Presidium, Bogdan Trifunovic, the republican secretary for internal affairs, Radmilo Bodanovic, the commander of the Civil Defense head quarters of Serbia, Milisav Parezanovic, and a group of republican and local officials, who were interested in the scope and consequences of this disaster, have visited the mine, it is said at the end of the statement, issued this evening by the collective of the Aleksinac mines.

Gracanin, Others Visit Site

LD1711222389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Aleksinac, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—The Aleksinac coal mines which today were hit by a big tragedy, were this evening visited by Peter Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs; Tomislav Milenkovic, president of the Council of the Serbian Trade Unions; and Mihalj Kertes, a member of the Serbian Presidency. They were interested in the measures being taken to overcome the consequencs of the accident.

This is already the fifth time in 10 years that accidents have hit this coal mine. The last one was 6 and ½ years ago when 35 miners and engineers died.

Krsko Nuclear Powerplant Repaired, Resumes Work

AU1911152789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Oct 89 p 14

[T.B. report: "Fault Corrected"]

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Oct—The Krsko Nuclear Powerplant has rejoined the electricity grid this morning. Workers found a fault in the transformer safety system in good time and corrected it. Tests were conducted last night, we were told this morning by Ive Vice Cukrov, chief inspector in the republican Committee for Energy of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The fault appeared immediately after the regular annual overhaul of the power station which began on 1 September and was completed on 18 October this year. During the test run, a fault developed in the cathode overload discharger [katodni odvojnik prenapona] (which is a part of the transformer safety system) and the nuclear power plant was taken out of the grid during these tests.

According to Cukrov, this was a fault that is fairly common on power stations. It is the sensitivity of the public to events in the nuclear power station at Krsko that makes it exceptional.

Brezice People Protest Waste

AU1911152789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 89 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Will Brezice People Close Krsko?"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 Oct—Not knowing what to do with their nuclear waste, Krsko has decided that it will be kept for a certain time within the premises of the nuclear power station there, and that the perimeter will be partly expanded, until a permanent location for the dump is found. However, the people of the surrounding communities have their own thoughts on this problem, for they no longer want to live on top of a dump of most dangerous waste.

The people of Brezice decided yesterday to set up a committee of the "Greens" and at the same time to announce to the public that they do not wish to live in the proximity of a nuclear waste dump. The Brezice people therefore propose first a broad discussion on the problem of waste and of the nuclear power station, and afterwards a referendum in Slovenia in general. The referendum should decide whether the nuclear power station should close down, considering that no place has been found for a nuclear waste dump.

Azem Vlasi Trial To Resume 23 November

LD1611120289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, November 15 (TANJUG)—The trial of Azem Vlasi, former party leader of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, and fourteen other ethnic Albanians, charged with counter-revolutionary acts against Yugoslavia's social order, will resume on November 23, Thursday, as announced today.

The trial will be held in the same courtroom of the Titova Mitrovica district court where it had opened and was immediately adjourned seventeen days ago.

The trial was adjourned because the defense and Vlasi, himself, challenged the credentials of the presiding judge

and two other judges, of the district public prosecutor and of the courts on the territory of the Republic of Serbia.

The request of the defense having been turned down as groundless by higher-instance court authorities, the presiding judge has set November 23 as the date when the trial is to resume.

Presidency Endorses Proposals on Financial Laws

AU1611163589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "The Laws on Temporary Measures Endorsed"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov—At today's session chaired by President Dr Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency was briefed on the results of the voting in the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces on the proposed laws on temporary measures.

As today's announcement states, the SFRY Presidency, in line with Article 302 of the SFRY Constitution, promulgated the laws that the majority of delegates in the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces had voted for. This involves the law on the temporary measures concerning subsidies for part of the interest payable on loans taken out between 15 July 1989 and 31 December 1989, for purposes within the framework of the selective program in agriculture, and the law on temporary measures concerning changes and amendments on establishing the total volume of federal budget expenditure for 1989.

On the basis of an initiative by the Federal Executive Council and the view of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the SFRY Presidency agreed that the process of reaching an agreement should continue in the SFRY Assembly. Agreement should be reached on: the proposed laws on temporary measures concerning the final calculation of funds in 1989 to cover the negative difference in the price of imported oil in the period from 1 January to 19 August 1988, and on the law on the temporary measures and amendments to the law on providing some finance for loans for the programs of associated labor organizations which are concerned with producing armaments and military equipment (special purpose production) in the Socialist Republic of Serbia outside the territory of the provinces in the period from 1986 to 1988. This has not yet been agreed upon in the assemblies of the Socialist Republic and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces nor among the majority of the delegates in the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Kucan Again Declines Slovene Nomination

LD1711000389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Slovene League of Communists [LC], during debate on the draft list of potential candidates for members of the Slovene Central Committee, League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], Central Committee, and organs of the Slovene LC and the LCY, Stojan Kokosar demanded that Kucan cite once again his arguments for withdrawing his candidature for president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium.

Reflecting on the fact that many basic organizations had, apart from other candidates, registered him for this post, Kucan stressed that he appreciated this recognition very much. He also added that everything achieved during his term would have been impossible without the guidelines of the Slovene LC's 10th congress and the support of this Central Committee.

In Kucan's words, one of the reasons for withdrawing his candidature for this post is the fact that he had not been working for his own affirmation but, above all, for the success of the organization itself. He also said that once an organization starts thinking that it can be saved by only one name, it spells the beginning of its end. Kucan assessed that the Slovene LC has enough cadres capable of achieving political promotion and affirmation. Bringing his speech to a close, Kucan also added that a debate on his work and responsibility was possible at any time.

Francka Strmole-Hrasnec did not agree with such, in her words, formal reasons for giving up candidature, while Bozidar Debenjak assessed that a personal decision should be observed. But, at the same time, Debenjak maintained that the Slovene LC expects Kucan to become its candidate, whom it will advance and identify with. Lev Kreft maintained that neither of those on the lists of candidates could abandon it, but by the same token no one who does not accept candidature should remain on the list.

The Slovene LC Central Committee then adopted the draft list of possible candidates for the Slovene LC Central Committee, LCY Central Committee and members of the organs of the Slovene LC and the LCY.

Slovene MLADINA Mocks Tito in Cartoon

AU1611224089

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene on 27 October on its front cover carries a full-page color cartoon of Tito, late president of the SFRY, who is depicted as a wooden puppet dressed in a resplendent marshal's uniform, with screws falling out of its left knee joint, and its strings being pulled by four hands from behind a curtain. On page 3, the cover cartoon is attributed to Andrej Flumiani.

In the same issue on pages 6-8, MLADINA carries a 1,800-word article signed "Randolph Hearst II" entitled "All the President's Hawks," which discusses President Tito's close associates after 1973, in the last years of his life. It quotes Colonel General Dusan Pekic, retired, who, at a session of the Presidium of the Yugoslav

Veterans Federation on 19 September, said: "As we have now learned, a four-member commission was active in the last 8 years of Tito's life. This commission built a wall around Tito and decided which information will reach Tito and which will not."

The article says that the four members of the commission changed through the years, and included the following: Edvard Kardelj, Stane Dolanc, Vladimir Bakaric, Stevo Krajacic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Nikola Ljubicic, Lazar Kolisevski, Rato Dugonjic, Mijalko Todorovic, Dzemal Bijedic, Veselin Djuranovic,, Branko Mikulic, and Dragoslav Markovic.

Bosnian Youth Advocate Multiparty Pluralism

AU1711102589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Youth of Bosnia-Hercegovina Are for a Multiparty System"]

[Text] Sarajevo—Even though the League of Communists of the Bosnia-Hercegovina has not taken a definite stand regarding political pluralism or a multiparty type of organization, the Socialist Youth Federation of this republic has fully decided that it is essential to establish political pluralism by law and facilitate and guarantee the freedom to organize publicly, culturally, and politically.

Their political manifesto, which is currently at the draft proposal stage and which the youth of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be discussing at their next conference at the beginning of next month in preparation for their congress, stresses that the act of an organization registering itself with the authorized administrative-judicial organs gives it the status of a legal organization and thereby the right to participate in political life. In the young people's view, it is the internal concern of every group, association, alliance, movement, or organization whether it wants to operate as a political organization or not, that is to say whether it has pretensions to participation in exercising power.

It is, however, stressed in the young people's manifesto that the freedom to organize in such a way can only be restricted by the Constitution and the law, and this applies to those organizations whose programs would be based on racial, national, or any other discrimination and whose methods of struggle include the use of force.

Albanian Intellectuals Protest Street Name Change

AU1711213989 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Scientific, educational, and cultural personalities of Albanian nationality in Kosovo have sent a letter to the highest provincial organs, in which they reject a recent proposal to change the names of some streets in the city of Peje [Serbo-Croatian Pec]

The fact that Naim Frasheri Street is to be changed to Braca Jugovici Street, League of Prizren Street is to be renamed Heroji Kosova Street, Haki Zeqja Street is to be renamed Dusan Ladovic Street, and Luigj Gurakuqi Street is to become Liman Kaba Street, and Hasan Prishtina Street is to be changed to Jug Bogdan Street, is an anti-Albanian proposal, says the letter of protest, and is an offense to the history, culture, and dignity of the Albanian people.

The letter of protest adds that this follows the change in the names of some educational institutions in Kosovo. This is an act against Albanian history and culture, against the spiritual and national integrity of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia.

The letter is signed by the members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, the Albanological Institute in Pristina, The Institute of History of Kosovo, the Provincial Archives, the Pristina Philological Faculty, the Higher Pedagogical Schools in Pristina, Gjakove [Djakovica in Serbo-Croatian], and Gjilan (Ngjilan in Serbo-Croatian], the members of the Writers Association, and the personnel of the People's Library and of the University of Kosovo Library.

Drnovsek, Kadijevic Attend Military Exercise

LD1611205289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Federal Secretary for National Defense Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, accompanied by his aides, today attended the closing part of an exercise carried out by the units of Varazdin Corps on the territory of greater Varazdin municipality. The exercise was also atended by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency.

In the exercise, which was carried out within the framework of regular combat training, the units of territorial defense systems of the Socialist Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, as well as civilian units from the region of Bjelovar also took part. The exercise was one of the forms of combining combat training with the testing of expertise and moral-political competence of the units and commands in almost warlike conditions.

Participants in the exercise displayed a high degree of motivation and preparedness in practicing complex combat activities and conduct. The coordinated operations of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] units, the territorial defense, and other factors involved in all-people's defense was especially impressive.

In paying tribute to those who took part in the exercise, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek stressed that he was very pleased with the efforts invested, with the level of training, and the skills of young soldiers in fulfilling various combat tasks. He also said he was very impressed by the young people's physical fitness and their skills in handling modern weapons, resulting from the very well planned and executed training in the barracks, training ground, and exercise ranges.

Everyday life and work in the army units is organized in such a way as to ensure that all military tasks are carried out in a proper and professional way, Drnovsek stressed.

Immediately on completion of the exercise the SFRY Presidency president attended a display of technical capacities and was informed about the tactical-technical features of mechanized armored equipment, antiarmored and artillery support systems, artillery and missile systems, antiaircraft systems, and communications equipment. Expressing his impression of the exhibition of modern weapons and systems, Drnovsek stressed that we must continue in the future to rely on our own resources, that is, overall Yugoslav scientific and production potentials in equipping the Armed Forces.

Markovic Receives Customs Service Delegation

LD1611120889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2505 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, FEC [Federal Executive Council] President, today received a delegation of the customs service from the whole country, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of its creation. Branko Zekan, federal secretary for financies, and Zoran Miskovic, FEC secretary general, attended the reception as well. [passage omitted]

Congratulating them on Customs Day, Ante Markovic stressed that the economic system we are building, as well as ever increasing liberalization of foreign trade business activity in general, means a further opening-up of Yugoslavia, its economy and market towards the world. The customs service is required to adapt to these processes. Bearing in mind pluralism of ownership, introduced by new systemic solutions and new laws on foreign trade business activities, it is expected that a number of economic subjects dealing with exports and imports will be considerably increased; the state should protect just those who would prove that they are better than others in the increasingly fierce competition, and therefore, that they deserve protection. He noted that by the end of this year, the FEC will propose a change in the protection policy, which should not just contain fiscal but also development elements, and should give an impetus to our economy in order for it to become integrated into the world economy.

President Ante Markovic also noted the limit on customs-free imports is raised to 100 dollars, that citizens right to free handling of foreign currency savings is guaranteed, and all this should contribute to the strengthening of citizens' trust in a new system, which is now being built. On the other hand, Markovic stressed, ever increasing liberalization of imports and opening up towards the world poses a task for the customs service to prevent rigorously and uncompromisingly all illegal activities.

Writers Plan 'Associations of Independent Writers'

AU2011094789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 89 p 5

[V. Roganovic report: "Associating on the Basis of Intellectual Affinity"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Oct—If the initiative of a group of Belgrade writers is realized, the Yugoslav Writers' Association could soon encounter its equivalents (let us not say competitors) in the form of the "Associations of Independent Writers." This initiative was launched by writers Mirko Kovac, Zivojin Pavlovic, Filip David, and Vidosav Stevanovic who claim that the existing guilds of writers in Yugoslavia are "huge, bureaucratic, and inefficient organizations which have too many members and lack any concern for writers' professional problems." [passage omitted]